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The County Histories of Scotland

COUNTY OF INVERNESS

A HISTORY

OF THE

COUNTY OF INVERNESS

(MAINLAND)

BY

J. CAMERON LEES, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

AUTHOR OF

'THE ABBEY OF PAISLEY,' 'ST GILES', EDINBURGH,' ETC.

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The County Histories of Scotland

COUNTY OF INVERNESS

Considerable attention has been given to biographical details, and to the productions of the Inverness-shire bards. These, it is hoped, may not only be interesting in themselves, but may also bring into prominence the men by whom in great measure the destinies of the county have been shaped and the character of its people formed.

The history of the islands belonging to Inverness-shire falls to be dealt with in another volume of the series of County Histories of which this book forms part. These islands are but slightly connected historically with the mainland. From the days when they formed part of the Norwegian kingdom, and afterwards of the Lordship of the Isles, they have associations and interests which are peculiarly their own, and which deserve special treatment.

Generous assistance has been given to the writer by many Inverness-shire men who have taken a kindly interest in his work. He wishes specially to mention the Rev. Dr Forsyth, Abernethy; Mr Kenneth M'Donald, the Town Clerk of Inverness; Mr Alexander Macpherson, Kingussie; Mr George Malcolm, Invergarry; and Mr William Mackay, author of the 'History of Glenmoriston and Glenurquhart,' Inverness. To the last in various ways he has been much indebted, especially in the compilation of the appended Bibliographical list. His best thanks are also due to J. R. Finlay, Esq. of Aberlour, for kindly revising the proofs of his work.

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INVERNESS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY ANNALS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE — THE FOUR KINGDOMS — INVERNESS-SHIRE WITHIN THAT OF THE PICTS—THE CRUITHNE OF THE NORTH—ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF MORAY—ITS DISTURBED CAREER —THE BATTLE-GROUND BETWEEN THE NORSEMEN AND THE SCOTS—FINALLY INCORPORATED WITH SCOTLAND UNDER MALCOLM CAENMORE —THE RELIGION OF THE NORTHERN PICTS — ITS CHARACTER AND WORSHIP — RELICS OF THE OLD HEATHENISM STILL EXISTING — THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY TO INVERNESS-SHIRE—ST COLUMBA AT THE PICTISH COURT OF KING BRUDE—THE WORK OF THE SAINT IN INVERNESS-SHIRE—HIS PREACHING AND MIRACLES—THE CHURCHES OF THE BRETHREN OF IONA THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY — SURVIVING MEMORIALS OF PRIMITIVE INVERNESS-SHIRE.

WHEN the light of history first breaks upon Inverness-shire we find the country now called Scotland divided into four kingdoms. To the south of the line of the Forth and Clyde lay the kingdom of the Britons of Strathclyde, and that of the Saxons of Northumbria; to the north of that line, those of the Scots and the Picts, separated from each other by the mountain-chain called by the old writers Dorsum Britanniæ, or Drumalban, the range of hills which now divides the counties of Argyle and Perth. What is now Inverness-shire lay wholly within the kingdom of the Picts. These were the ancient Caledonians, the fierce people of whom we have

descriptions from the Roman historians,—men of red hair and long limbs, who had no walled cities, and nothing deserving the name of a town; who lived by pasturage and the chase; who painted their bodies with pictures of wild animals; and who could stand for days immersed in the waters of their marshes. Their language was that now known as the Gaelic; and their capital, or the seat of their king, at the commencement of the Christian era, was at the mouth of the river Ness, possibly on the site now occupied by the capital of the Highlands.

The Picts were divided into two sections—the northern and the southern Picts. The former, called by the Irish annalists the Cruithne Tuath or Cruithne of the North, lay to the north, and the latter to the south, of the range of mountains called the Month, which now bears the name of the Grampians. In the northern portion, at least, the Romans effected no settlement. The geographer Ptolemy, in the second century, speaks of the Varar Æstuarium or Beauly Firth in describing the coast, and preserves for us the ancient name of the people, Caledonii, who inhabited the districts of Badenoch, Stratherrick, Glengarry, Glenmoriston, Glenurquhart, the Aird, Strathnairn, Strathdearn, and Athole. These Caledonians were undoubtedly Celts, ancestors of the same people who now inhabit the Scottish Highlands.

The connection between the northern and the southern Picts was at no time, probably, of a very intimate character. The men of the Highlands and those of the Lowlands, though nominally under the same sovereign, had in many respects but little in common. They were separated geographically by a wild mountain-chain. Their customs were different, and so for a time was their religion; and when in 843 Kenneth Macalpine, a Scot, obtained the kingship over the southern Picts, those north of the Grampians took up a separate position.

They formed themselves into a confederacy of their own, and asserted their independence. The new province that emerged from the severance of the north from the south was called the province of Moray, and comprehended most, if not all, of what is now Inverness-shire. It was far more extensive than that which afterwards bore the same name, and stretched from the river Spey on the one side, and from Loch Lochy on the other, to Caithness. This territory was governed by a sovereign, sometimes called a Maormor, a title peculiar to the Gaelic people, and sometimes Ri Moreb or King of Moray.

This kingdom had a troubled existence. It was placed between two fires. To the north were the Norsemen, who, obtaining foothold in Orkney, had extended themselves over what are now the counties of Caithness and Sutherland. To the south was the growing kingdom of Scotland, ever ambitious of extending its territory. Between the descendants of the vikings and the inhabitants of the southern kingdom the men of Moray had but little peace. The Ri Moreb had from time to time to enter into an alliance with the one power to protect himself against the other. More than once the Norwegians entirely conquered Moray. A mighty Norse warrior, Thorstein the Red, ruled over the province for a year. In the closing years of the ninth century, Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, followed in his train and overran the country, though his sovereignty did not last very long. The Scottish monarchy also made inroads from the south upon Moray, and King Malcolm, son of Donald, King of Alban, endeavoured to annex, but with small success, the northern province. He slew Cellach, its maormor, but the province retained its independence.

The men of Moray were of a stubborn and indomitable character, and they fought both their northern and their southern foes with desperation. They were a fighting race,

and when not attacked by their neighbours they made forays upon them. In 1020 Finlaec or Findlay, maormor of Moray, entered Caithness with a large army and challenged the Norse earl, Sigurd, to meet him in battle. The Norwegian, aided by the men of Orkney, accepted the challenge, and the maormor was defeated. Sigurd, pursuing his victorious way southward, overran the provinces north of the Spey, and Moray became again, and remained, it is supposed, for two years, a Norwegian province. On the death of Sigurd it again resumed its independence. In the end the brave little province fell into the hands, not of its northern, but of its southern, neighbour.

How this was brought about, and how Moray became incorporated with Scotland, may here be briefly told. It is not necessary to give details which do not immediately concern our narrative. In 1003 the King of Scotland, King Malcolm, died, leaving two grandsons, Duncan, and Thorfin Earl of Caithness. Between the two the contest for the throne was long and fiercely waged. The maormor of Moray at the time was Macbeth, a name made famous by the great dramatist; and from the position of his territory, lying between the combatants, his alliance was naturally regarded as of the utmost importance by both claimants. At first he sided with King Duncan, and his territory suffered in consequence. Thorfin and his Norsemen were victorious, and Moray was desolated with fire and sword. King Duncan then collected an army and hurried north, and a battle ensued at Burghead, in which the Norsemen were again the victors. They drove the fugitive Scots before them, and conquered the country all the way to Fife. At this stage King Duncan was deserted by the maormor of Moray, who attached himself to Thorfin. He felt that his interests lay rather with his victorious northern neighbour than with the Scots.

The traditional story of his murdering King Duncan is well

known, and, as Sir Walter Scott says, has been adopted by Hollinshed, dignified by the classical Latinity of Buchanan, and dramatised by Shakespeare. It is with a sigh of regret that the historian has to regard the picturesque tale as utterly mythical; to remember that no such persons as Banquo and Fleance ever existed, and that the famous scene in the castle of Inverness never took place. All we do know is, that King Duncan was slain in some conflict with Macbeth at a place called Bothgowan near Elgin. The name Bothgowan means a smith's house, where perhaps Duncan sought shelter when the battle went against him, and where he met his fate by the sword of his former ally.

Thorfin, the Norwegian, and Macbeth divided between them the conquered territory. Thorfin ruled the North, including the province of Moray, which thus again became Norwegian. Macbeth became king of the southern district beyond the Grampians, which had Scone as its capital, where he ruled as King of Scotland for seventeen years. At the end of that period he was dethroned. Malcolm Caenmore, son of the murdered Duncan, advanced against him from the south, drove him across the Month, and slew him at Lumphanan in Mar. In the year in which Macbeth met his fate, his ally Thorfin died, and Moray became again a kingdom. Malcolm was, however, very desirous to reduce it to his authority, and invaded it in 1078. He conquered the hereditary ruler Maelsnectan, who escaped with his life, and who died seven years after in a fortress of Lochaber in which he had taken refuge. Moray thus became a part of Scotland, though the power of the kings over the wild northern territory was for many years more nominal than real, maormors holding sway there oftener than once.

It is pleasant to turn from this troublous story of incessant warfare, which preceded the absorption of Inverness-shire

into Scotland — a story which historians have disentangled from the accounts of Irish annalists, Saxon chronicles, and Norwegian sagas — to tell of the coming of Christianity to our county, and of its peaceful triumphs.

The religion of the northern Picts at the advent of Christianity was entirely pagan, and was apparently the same in kind as that followed by their neighbours the Scots. Holding a high place among both Scots and Picts was a class of men called Druids. They are frequently mentioned in the lives of Columba and Patrick, and in the ancient Celtic manuscripts which have come down to us from Irish sources. They dwelt at the residence of the kings, and exercised great powers in national affairs; but beyond that we know little about them. There are no grounds for asserting that they formed a sacerdotal order. They appear to have been magicians, soothsayers, and enchanters—workers of spells and charms—their influence with the people being founded on the belief that by their necromancy they could aid those who sought their assistance, or injure those opposed to them. A favourite method of divination among them was by sneezing, or by the song of a bird perched upon a tree. In an old poem attributed to St Columba, these and similar practices are referred to and abjured. The poet thus sings:—

"Our fate depends not on sneezing,
Nor on a bird perched on a twig,
Nor on the root of a knotted tree,
Nor on the noise of clapping hands:
Better is He in whom we trust,
The Father, the One, and the Son."

And in another verse of the same poem he says—

"I adore not the noise of birds,
Nor sneezing, nor lots in this world,
Nor a son, nor chance, nor woman;
My Druid is Christ, the Son of God."

In another poem, in the form of a prayer, he alludes to the magical gift of his adversaries. He recognises their power over the elements of nature, and exclaims—

> "My Druid—may He be on my side!—
> Is the Son of God and truth with purity."

What is called Druidism, so far as known to the Celts, was a system of necromancy, like that which has ever been inseparably connected with heathenism,—a belief in men who can awaken storms, and bring down rain, and bewitch fields. If the Druids were in any sense the ministers of a religion, it was of a debased and grovelling kind, a species of fetichism, an adoration of natural objects and of the powers of the external world, the rocks, the winds, the thunder. Among the pagan Scots, and probably among their neighbours, pillar-stones were objects of worship, and were either overthrown or were consecrated with the sign of the cross by the Christian teachers. The Picts seem also to have believed in what were called the Sidhe—spirits who were supposed to haunt nature and to dwell underground.

St Columba seems to have had full belief in the existence of these demons, which were supposed to have their dwelling-places in fountains and green hillocks. He delighted in exorcising them. "While the blessed man was stopping," says his biographer, "in the province of the Picts, he heard that there was a fountain famous among the heathen people, which foolish men, having their reason blinded by the devil, worshipped as a god. For those who drank of the fountain, or who purposely washed their hands or feet in it, were allowed by God to be struck by demoniacal art, and went home either leprous or purblind, or at least suffering from weakness, or some kind of infirmity.

"By all these things the pagans were seduced, and they paid divine honours to this fountain. Having ascertained this, the

saint one day went up to the fountain fearlessly; and on seeing this, the Druids, whom he had often sent away vanquished and confounded, were greatly rejoiced, thinking that, like others, he would suffer from the touch of that baneful water. The saint then blessed the fountain, and from that day the demons departed from the water; and not only was it not allowed to injure any one, but even many diseases among the people were cured by this same fountain after it had been blessed and washed in by the saint."

From such notices as these in the lives of the saint we may form some idea of what was the early religion of Inverness-shire. Many traces of this paganism survive at the present day. In the belief in charms, in fairies, in witchcraft, in the power of the evil eye, which still lingers in many of our Highland glens, we have relics of the old Celtic heathenism still existing in the midst of our present civilisation. Such superstitions were treated very gently by the early Christian teachers, and perhaps on that account have survived. Fountains were blessed and became holy wells. Demonology was recognised, and exorcism practised. The advice given by one of the Popes to British missionaries was, that they should disturb pagan practices as little as was necessary. You cannot, he argues, cut off everything at once from rude natures. He who would climb an ascent must climb step by step, and not by leaps and bounds. On this principle the early teachers of Christianity in the Highlands seem to have acted, and hence the existence in our own time of traces of that paganism against which they contended.

The greatest of the Christian teachers who came to our northern county was St Columba, the greatest also among Celtic saints. It is quite possible that he was not the first pioneer of Christianity in Inverness-shire. The mountains that divided Moray from Christian peoples were not impass-

able by Christian teachers, and one of these, Merchard, from beyond the Month, is known to have settled in Glenurquhart. He may have been one among others like him. But in that early time St Columba is the outstanding figure in a light almost modern in its clearness. In the year 565 he made a pilgrimage, accompanied by two companions, Congal of Bangor and Kanneach of Achaboe, to the Court of the King of the Picts. His biographer Adamnan tells in graphic language of his interview with King Brude at his palace. The precise spot where this was situated we do not know. All that we can learn from the narrative is, that it was situated in the neighbourhood of the river Ness. Some have placed its site on Craigphatrick, others at Torbean, others at the place where the river Ness issues from the loch bearing its name, others where the castle of Inverness once stood. The last may perhaps be the most likely supposition; but the subject is only one for conjecture, regarding which we have no specific evidence.

When the saint arrived at the palace of the king he was refused admittance. "The king, elated by the pride of royalty, acted haughtily, and would not open his gates to the blessed man. When the man of God observed this, he approached the folding-doors with his companions, and having first formed upon them the sign of the cross of our Lord, he then knocked at and laid his hand upon the gate, which instantly flew open of its own accord, the bolts having been drawn back with great force. The saint and his companions then passed through the gate thus speedily opened, and when the king heard what had occurred, he and his councillors were filled with alarm; and immediately setting out from the palace, he advanced with due respect to meet the blessed man, whom he addressed in the most conciliatory and respectful language, and ever after from that day, as long as he lived,

the king held this holy and revered man in very great honour, as was due." The result of the saint's meeting and intercourse with Brude was that the king was baptised, and probably owing to his power over his subjects the work of Columba in preaching the Gospel among them was greatly facilitated.

In Adamnan's life of Columba we have many notices of the saint's work beyond the dorsal range of Britain, and many of his miracles are recounted as taking place in Inverness-shire. These accounts are too numerous to give at length. They are all of the same marvellous character. Sometimes in his travels he traversed the great glen of Scotland which leads to Loch Ness, probably striking the glen through the pass which terminates at Laggan, between Loch Oich and Loch Lochy; sometimes he followed the track which leads from Lochaber into Badenoch and the valley of the Spey; but wherever he went marvels attended his footsteps. When chanting the evening hymns near the fortress of King Brude, he and his companions were molested by some Druids. The saint then sang the 44th Psalm, his voice like pealing thunder striking king and people with terror and amazement. When some of his companions had taken five fish in the river Sale (Sheil in Moidart), they were commanded by the saint to try again, and were promised a large fish. They obeyed the saint's command, and hauled out with their net a salmon of astonishing size.

In Lochaber the saint blessed the heifers of a poor man who had entertained him hospitably, and from that day the five heifers increased to 150 cows. In the same country he blessed a stake which killed wild beasts, but which could not harm men or cattle; and the happy peasant who possessed it was plentifully supplied with animals which were impaled thereon, until at the evil instigation of his wife he cut the stick

in pieces and burned it in the fire. When travelling by the bank of the river Ness he saw people burying a man who while swimming had been seized by some monster. He directed one of his companions to swim across the river and bring over a coble from the other side. The monster darted after him with a terrific roar; but, at the command of the saint, he stayed his pursuit, and retired to the depths where he dwelt. Broichan, the Druid of King Brude, held in captivity a Scotic slave, and refused to set her free. The saint prophesied the Druid's death; but when appealed to in his illness, and being assured he had freed the slave, he restored him to health by causing him to drink water on which there floated a white pebble, which Columba had picked up in the channel of the river Ness. On Loch Ness, "the long lake of the river Nessa," he sailed in his boat rapidly against the adverse wind which the Druid Broichan had raised. While walking by Loch Ness, he was suddenly inspired by the Holy Ghost to go and baptise a heathen for whose soul angels were waiting. He came to Glenurquhart, and there found an aged man named Emchat, who, on hearing the Word of God preached by the saint, believed and was baptised, and, accompanied by angels, passed to the Lord. The saint and his brethren seem to have penetrated every corner of Inverness-shire.

What was the monastery which formed the base of their missionary operations, and to which they could retire for rest and refreshment, we do not know. Probably for the northern part of the county it was the Columban Monastery of Birnie in Moray, and for the West the parent house of Iona; or some cell among the Scots might suffice. The churches of the brethren of Iona are to be found everywhere throughout the county. We have churches of Columba at Petty, Kingussie, and Glenmoriston; of Tolargain at Kintarlity, in the Aird; of

Drostan in Glenurquhart; of Baithen and Curadon in Strathglass; of Adamnan in Urquhart, and at Inch-on-Spey; of Cainneach on Loch Laggan; of Donnan in Glengarry; and of Finnan at the head of Loch Lochy, and in the island on Loch Sheil which bears his name. Only twenty years ago the bell of St Merchad was taken away from Glenurquhart. That of Adamnan still remains at Inch, a purely Celtic bell, which is said to have the peculiarity possessed by bells of the same type, of finding its way back to the place where it was originally deposited. A similar bell, that of St Finnan, may still be seen on his island on Loch Shiel in Moidart.

What form of Church order was followed by these early missionaries of the Cross, or what were their special theological doctrines, we are not called on here to inquire. We leave such matters to be fought over by rival ecclesiastics. We content ourselves with the certainty that they were good Christian men; and the evidence of Adamnan is sufficient, if we had no more, that the foundation of Columba's preaching, and his great instrument in the conversion of the heathen, was the Word of God.

Of the early times in the history of Inverness-shire of which this chapter tells, and of times that are probably prehistoric, we have some material memorials remaining. Stone axes and other instruments of the same kind have been discovered in considerable numbers. Swords have been dug up in peat-mosses. Brooches and other ornaments have been found, beautiful specimens of art, like the brooch found at Croy, the gold armlet at Cromdale, and the massive silver chain at Craigphatrick — the last worthy to have adorned the King of the Picts himself. What are called "Druidical circles," though we believe they have no right to the name, abound throughout Inverness-shire. They cluster thickly in the valley of the Ness and in the neighbourhood of the Highland capital.

Few parishes in the county are without a specimen of these astonishing feats of ancient engineering.

Whether these circles are to be regarded as places of burial, as temples of worship, as the meeting-places of clans, or as memorials of departed heroes, are questions rather for the antiquary than for the historian. Archæologists are divided in opinion on the point, and we are not called upon to interfere in the controversy. There are artificial islands—lake-dwellings, as we may call them—in most of the Inverness-shire lakes, of the type of which those in Loch Lundy in Glengarry, on Loch Beauly, and on the Loch of the Clans are specimens. There are distributed throughout the county many of the curious massive circular towers called "brochs," of which those in Glenelg on the western coast are outstanding specimens—fortresses into which the inhabitants could retire for security, and which are justly regarded by competent authorities as part of that wonderful Celtic civilisation which reached so high a point of development in the centuries before the eleventh. There are also what are called vitrified forts, like that of Craigphatrick, of Dundardghill in Glen Nevis, at Achterawe in Glengarry, and those at Arisaig in the West, showing the scorified appearance which is the result of the action of fire upon masses of loose stone. Of the real character of such forts little is known. These and other works of a similar nature are memorials of the far-distant past, of a brave and warlike race far from destitute of civilising elements, and of the centuries before Inverness-shire became an integral part of the kingdom of Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

INVERNESS-SHIRE FEUDALISED UNDER KING DAVID, HIS GRANDSON MALCOLM, WILLIAM THE LION, AND ALEXANDER II.—THE COMING TO THE NORTH OF NORMAN AND SAXON COLONISTS — THEIR CHARACTER AND THE NATURE OF THE FEUDAL POLITY—INVERNESS-SHIRE PORTIONED OUT AMONG THE STRANGERS — THREE GREAT FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS PLANTED IN THE COUNTY — THE CASTLE, THE BURGH, AND THE CHURCH—CASTLE-BUILDING IN EACH DISTRICT OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—SUPREMACY OF THE BARON—THE POSITION OF THE NATIVES—THE BURGH OF INVERNESS FOUNDED — ITS PRIVILEGES GUARANTEED BY ROYAL CHARTER—ITS EARLY PROGRESS—CHANGE IN CHURCH POLITY —THE BISHOPRIC OF MORAY FOUNDED—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONVENTUAL SYSTEM—THE PRIORY OF BEAULY—THE DIVISION OF THE COUNTY INTO PARISHES—THE DESPOTIC POWER OF THE FEUDAL LORDS —EXTENT OF INVERNESS-SHIRE IN THOSE EARLY DAYS.

We have to tell in this chapter of the working of new social forces, which, like the blows of hammer upon hot iron, welded Inverness-shire into compact and indissoluble union with Southern Scotland. Armies from north and south had conquered Moray, but again and again the wild Celts had repelled their invaders. They were now to be brought into final subjection by the introduction among them of feudal institutions.

Between the death of Malcolm Caenmore and the time of David I. the state of the North was one of constant insurrection. The former sovereign is generally supposed to have built a castle at Inverness upon the present site, but from its walls there apparently emanated but little authority. The

risings of the men of Moray—"Homines inquieto semper ingenio," as Buchanan terms them—were more numerous than we care to chronicle. With King David, a new policy was inaugurated—a policy which was carried out by his grandson Malcolm, by William the Lion, and by Alexander II. During the reigns of these kings the state of our northern county was entirely altered.

During the twelfth century there took place in Scotland what can only be regarded as a revolution, although unaccompanied by the turmoil and bloodshed which have generally been the concomitants of great social changes. A new people began to pour across the Scottish Border from the south, displacing, or predominating over, the old inhabitants, encouraged by the king, and welcomed to the new home they had sought for themselves. There was a stream of English colonisation towards the Lowlands of Scotland. It was an extraordinary emigration, not like that of our Aryan ancestors, who moved in tribes, and not like that caused by the pressure of an overcrowded population. The new-comers belonged to the ranks of the aristocracy. They were of noble birth and knightly accomplishments—men of the sword, used to the court, the camp, and the usages of chivalry. Some of them were Anglian, of families settled long in Northumbria; most were of the Norman race, which had come over with William the Conqueror.

These emigrants were cordially received by the king. It was doubtless thought that their culture and their skill in arms would prove useful in developing and defending the country, and it was reasonably expected that they would prove loyal to the sovereign to whose generosity they owed their fortunes. His generosity to them was great. They received lands from him, which they held in feudal tenure; and they settled on the estates thus acquired. The natives gave way before them,

or remained under their protection. Knightly Norman and Saxon lord built their castles, and gave lands to their followers under a similar title to that by which they held their own; and the feudal system became stamped upon the whole country. That system was a very simple one. The king was regarded as the owner of the whole land of the kingdom. He retained large estates in his own hands, from which he derived his personal followers and his royal revenues. The rest he gave to his nobles, on condition that they should maintain for the defence of the kingdom a certain number of armed men. These tenants of the Crown followed the example of the sovereign. Each retained a portion of the land in his own hand, and bestowed the rest in estates of smaller or larger size on condition that each noble or knight who held of him should supply a portion of the armed force he was required to furnish for the royal standard. Each knight, again, let his land to men of inferior degree on condition that they provided themselves with requisite arms, and assembled under his banner for military service.

These great changes in the South were viewed with apprehension by the men of the North, who feared their application to themselves. King David had only reigned six years when they raised an insurrection against him, led by Malcolm, a natural son of his predecessor. Following Malcolm were the men of Moray, with their maormor Angus, now termed the Earl of Moray, at their head. With 5000 men they entered Scotia. The commander of the royal army met them in battle and was victorious. He pursued them into Moray, and reduced again that ancient kingdom into subjection. The Irish annalists chronicle the fight: "Battle between the men of Alban and the men of Moray, in which fell 4000 of the men of Moray with their King Oangus, son of the daughter of Lulag." The changes that

followed this battle were rapid, and all in the same direction.

David proceeded to deal with the maormor's territory as forfeited to the Crown. He portioned it out to men who were strangers to the country, and who held their estates as vassals, according to Norman usage. Their fortresses rose throughout the conquered kingdom of Moray. Unlike the strongholds that preceded them — the raths, buildings of wood or wattles on the top of a mound protected by earthen works—these fortresses were of stone. They were not for defence but for aggression; each was a centre of royal authority, each a menace to the rebels of the district: the Comyn, a great Norman lord, held Badenoch and Lochaber with his castles at Ruthven and Inverlochy. Bisset, another Norman with lesser barons under him, dominated the Aird and Strathglass from his castle at Beaufort. Durward, a third, ruled Glenurquhart and its neighbourhood from the royal castle on Loch Ness; whilst at Inverness itself there was a royal castle, held by a sheriff in the king's name, and visited often by the king in person.

The ancient inhabitants were thoroughly brought into subjection. If we may believe Fordun, Malcolm IV. "removed the whole nation of the Moravianses from the land of their birth, as of old Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon had done with the Jews, and scattered them through the other kingdoms of Scotland, both beyond the mountains and on this side thereof, so that not even one native of that land abode there, and installed therein his own peaceful people." How far this eviction of the old inhabitants was carried out, we have no means of knowing. It was probably but partial in extent, and confined to the border of the Moray Firth; but those inhabitants who remained were thoroughly under the dominion of their overlords. The *nativi*, as they were called,

were entirely their property: they were serfs, the goods and chattels of their master. The castle rising in each separate district of Inverness-shire proclaimed the supremacy of the baron and the king.

But the castle and all it represented was not the only instrument by which our northern county was brought into harmony with the rest of Scotland. There were two other important feudal institutions planted among its people, which exercised upon them a great and beneficent influence. These were the Burgh and the Church.

It was part of the policy of King David I. and King William the Lion to create trading communities in different parts of the kingdom—chartered corporations endowed with special privileges, and living under the protection and superintendence of the king. These royal burghs, as they were called, with the lands belonging to them, were his exclusive property, and generally they rose under the shadow of a royal castle. The inhabitants were vassals of the Crown.

The hamlet of Inverness with its noble and safe harbour was in every way suited to be a commercial centre. It was accordingly erected by the Crown into a burgh, and under the protection of the king a number of Anglo-Saxons, Flemings, and southern Scots settled there: the names of the early citizens testify to their foreign origin.

Inverness was probably made a royal burgh by David I.; but its privileges were clearly defined and confirmed by King William the Lion, who granted four charters in its favour. By the first of these, the privileges of the town were extended to all the king's burgesses of Moray, and it was declared that burgesses were not liable to prosecution for any debt that was not personally their own. The second charter, dated 1180, granted land for the support of the burgh. It exempted all burgesses of Inverness from all tolls and customs throughout

the kingdom, and prohibited any one not a burgess from buying or selling within the burgh or in the shire. The king promised to make a fosse round the town, which the burgesses were to enclose with a good paling. The third charter confirmed to Geoffray Blund, burgess of Inverness, and his heirs, and to all the burgesses of Inverness and their heirs, exemption from the wager of battle,—"Perpetual liberty that they shall never have combat among them, nor shall any burgess or any other man of our whole kingdom have combat with our said burgesses of Moray, or with their heirs save on oath: moreover, I have granted to my said burgesses of Moray and their heirs that they make half the oath and half the forfeiture which my other burgesses make in my whole kingdom, and they shall be free of toll throughout my whole kingdom for ever." The fourth charter appointed the Sabbath-day (Saturday) as the day for a weekly market, and granted the king's peace to all who should come to it. It granted to the burgesses all privileges enjoyed by those of other burghs of Scotland. It prohibited all without the burgh from manufacturing cloths, dyed or cut, charging the Sheriff of Inverness, should any such cloth be found, to seize it. It forbade buying or selling merchandise or keeping taverns in any place in the shire except the burgh, "unless in a town where a knight or laird of the town may be staying"; and it conferred on the bailies authority to enforce the observance of all its stipulations.

With the privileges granted in these charters the burgh of Inverness entered on its career as a commercial centre and an outpost of civilisation. The establishment of a free town, with privilege of trade and right of government by its own laws, marked a new era in the history of the Highlands. The burgh was the home of freedom. While the dwellers without the walls of Inverness were but serfs—hewers of wood and

drawers of water to those above them—those within the burgh were free men; and by the laws of the burgh, as of all burghs in the kingdom, it was enacted that "if any man's thyrll barouns or knikhts cumys to burgh and byes a borowage, and dwels in the borowage a twelfmoneth and a dey, frorutyn challenge of his lorde or his bailye, he shall be ever mare fre as a burges within that kingis burgh, and joyse the freedom of that burgh."

The position of the newly founded town must have been long a very difficult and trying one to maintain, and it had many times to suffer from the assaults of the wild tribes among which it was placed. But its progress, if often interrupted, was steady. The burgh rose slowly but surely to a position of importance. In 1249, Matthew Paris, describing the armament which accompanied Louis IX. on his crusading expedition to the Holy Land, speaks of the great ship of the Earl of St Poll and Blois—a "wonderful vessel" he calls it—which had been built for the earl at Inverness. Even at that early period the Celtic village on the banks of the Ness had outgrown its primitive character, and had, under its new privileges, become the home of such labour and skill that there were found in it workmen able to fit out a great ship, whose beauty excited wonder and admiration amid the vessels manned by the chivalry of France.

But neither the influence of the Castle nor that of the Burgh affected Inverness-shire so powerfully as that of the Church.

The Church planted by St Columba and his followers had apparently been brought, as regarded its doctrines and ceremonies, into conformity with the Church of Rome; but its general framework and polity were peculiar to itself. It was a collegiate system. Its clergy lived together in communities, and in some central position, whence they went

forth as missionaries to preach among the surrounding tribes. With the coming of the Normans and the feudalising of the North, this Church polity was changed. A parochial clergy superseded the missionary system that had formerly supplied the spiritual wants of the people. The monastic orders of the Church of Rome were introduced among them, and a bishop ruled over the territory which had formerly been subject to the jurisdiction of the Columban monastery.

The bishopric of Moray was founded by King Alexander I. in 1107, but at that time the northern part of the kingdom was so disturbed that the bishop was unable to fix his residence there. It was not till the time of Bricius, the sixth bishop, in 1203, that the bishop became resident. His cathedral was at Spynie, and at his death it was transferred to Elgin. A great part of what is now Inverness-shire was within the diocese of Moray, and was included in the deaneries of Inverness and Strathspey. The rest of our county lay within the diocese of Argyle, the bishopric of which was founded in 1200; and the parishes in Inverness-shire were partly within the deanery of Lorn and partly within that of Morven. The whole of Inverness-shire was thus placed under the parochial system. It was one that touched very closely the life of the people. Each separate district had its resident priest, who discharged the offices of religion to those living within its bounds, and who was responsible for their superintendence. He was maintained by the tithes of the baron's land, of his corn, his pastures, and his fishing. Some of these parishes were erected and endowed by the Crown; others by the strangers who had settled in the country. Thus Kingussie was erected by a certain Gilbert de Kathern; Kiltarlity and Kirkhill by Bisset, Lord of Beaufort; and there were other territorial magnates who were equally munificent.

The conventual system of the Church of Rome was but

slightly represented within the bounds of Inverness-shire, compared with other parts of Scotland. The monasteries of Pluscarden and Kinloss, not far from its southern border, and Beauly on its northern confines, were probably sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants. The Priory of Beauly occupied, until the Reformation, a conspicuous place in Inverness-shire. It was founded by John Bysset, Lord of the Aird, in 1230, and belonged to the Vallescaulians, or order of Vallis Caulium. It was one of the three monasteries of that order then existing in Scotland. The monks were men of austere lives. All property was held in common. Chapter was kept daily. Flesh-meat was forbidden in the refectory. For part of the year two meals a-day were allowed: bread, water, and pulse formed the diet for the rest of the year. Sackcloth was worn next the flesh. Most of their time the monks spent in reading, prayer, and contemplation. They wore a white cassock with a narrow scapulary, and they never went beyond the precincts of their convent. The brethren were much occupied with gardening, and with the cultivation of the neighbouring lands belonging to them. The site of their house well deserves its name of Beauly, or, as it is called in the Latin charters, *Monasterium de bello loco.* It was placed amid the tract of alluvial soil brought down by the river, open to the sunny south, looking across to the wooded hills beyond the water, and surrounded by level land producing the finest wheat. The influence of the brethren must have been considerable among the wild tribes where their lot was cast. They held up before them for generations the virtues of a peaceful and self-denying life. They showed them what might be done in the improvement and cultivation of the soil. They received within their precincts the children of the neighbouring barons, and gave them such education as they were able

to impart. The remains of their church still exist. It was not a great building from an architectural point of view, forming without aisles an oblong 150 feet long, with lateral chapels on the sides of the east end. It was not largely endowed; but it held the churches of St Lawrence, Conveth, Comar, and Abertarff, and it had a considerable revenue from the salmon-fisheries of the neighbouring river.

In the town of Inverness there was founded in 1233 a monastery of preaching friars of the order of St Dominic. It must have been a building of importance, and it was well endowed. Only a small fragment of it now remains. It is said that Alexander II., when in Paris in 1217, saw the founder of the order, and besought him to send some of his brethren to Scotland in order to teach the people, promising them all help and encouragement. It was in fulfilment of that promise that he founded in several towns in Scotland, as well as at Inverness, monasteries of the Dominican order.

Thus by the power represented by the Castle, the Burgh, and the Church, Inverness-shire was entirely feudalised, and Normans, Saxon Lords, and Flemings dominated the ancient Celtic inhabitants. How despotic their power was is illustrated by an agreement entered into between the Bishop of Moray and Comyn, the great Lord of Badenoch. In this agreement it is provided, in regard to the native men (*nativi*), that the bishop should have all the cleric and two lay native men, but that all the other native men on lands in Badenoch, with all their chattels and possessions, and with their children and all their posterity, and the chattels of their children, should belong to Walter Comyn.

It is to the period of which we are writing that we owe the division of the country into counties, shires, or sheriffdoms for civil purposes. In 1153 a sheriff was stationed at Inverness whose authority extended all over Scotland north

of the Grampians. "Gif ane dwells byond Drumalbin in Moray, Ross, Caithness, Argyle, or in Kintyre," it was enacted, "he shall have fifteen days and also ane month to produce his warrant before the scherif; and gif he goes for his warrant dwelland in Moray or in Ross, or in anie other of the steids and places pertaining to Moray, and can nocht find or apprehend his warrant, he shall pass to the Scherif of Inverness; and the scherif sall send him the king's servants, quha sall see he be righteouslie treated and handled conform to the law of the land."

The shire or sheriffdom of Inverness was thus at the beginning very extensive. Gradually, as the royal authority was established over other parts of the northern kingdom, its dimensions were curtailed. Other sheriffdoms were erected, as those of Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Cromarty, and the county of Inverness by degrees assumed its present proportions.

CHAPTER III.

INVERNESS-SHIRE DURING THE SCOTTISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—EDWARD I. OF ENGLAND IN THE NORTH—THE CASTLE OF URQUHART A STRONGHOLD OF THE PATRIOTIC PARTY—RANDOLPH, EARL OF MORAY—HIS VIGOROUS RULE—DAVID II. AT INVERNESS—GREAT SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE COUNTY—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CLAN SYSTEM—THE FRASERS, GRANTS, CHISHOLMS, CAMERONS, AND OTHERS BECOME HEADS OF CLANS — THE CLAN SYSTEM IN THE MAIN A DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORMAN POLITY — THE FIRST NOTICE IN HISTORY OF THE CLANS CONNECTED WITH INVERNESS-SHIRE — FEUD BETWEEN THE CLAN CHATTAN AND THE CLAN CAMERON — BATTLE OF INVERNAHAVON — CONFLICT ON THE INCH OF PERTH.

THE county of Inverness was not affected to the same extent as other parts of Scotland by the long struggle which issued in the independence of the kingdom. It was far away from the great scenes of conflict, and the contending armies which traversed other counties left its soil almost untrodden. The great territorial lords among whom the shire was partitioned had indeed to take part in the national conflict, and, as far as we can learn from the annals of the time, they were on the patriotic side. A John of Glenurquhart and a son of John of the Aird were among the prisoners taken by the English after the battle of Dunbar (1296). Andrew Moray, son of Sir Andrew Moray of Petty near Inverness, and of Avoch in Ross, was a close companion of Sir William Wallace, and represented his interest among the Highlanders. David, Bishop of Moray, was a chief sup-

porter of King Robert Bruce, and preached throughout his diocese a crusade in his favour. Names well known in after-years in the history of Inverness-shire appear in the historic narrative. A Simon Fraser, a John Cambron, and a Mackintosh are named among the followers of the Scottish monarch. At Bannockburn, it is said, as many as eighteen chiefs fought on the patriotic side, and among them were probably some at least from our northern county. Tradition has always represented the Macdonalds as forming part of the right wing of the royal army.

King Edward I. of England, having marched through Scotland as far as Elgin, sent parties of soldiers into Inverness-shire, who seized the northern strongholds and garrisoned them with English troops. The castle of Inverness had placed in it Sir Reginald le Chen as commandant, and that of Glenurquhart on Loch Ness was put under the charge of Sir William Fitz Warrine, a knight of renown. The invaders had a troubled time, and at last were driven out, the castles being taken by the Scots.

In 1303 the English king again appeared with an immense army in the north, and, intrenching himself in the island fortress of Loch-in-Dorb near Forres, brought the country into subjection. The castle of Inverness yielded at once to his summons, and that of Glenurquhart was taken after a long siege. These castles after a time fell into the hands of the Bruce, who came against them in person, and they were held by him during his reign as king.

Again in 1335 the King of England, Edward III., accompanied by Edward Balliol, who had been crowned King of Scotland, led an army as far as Inverness, taking the castle, and wasting the surrounding district with fire and sword. The castle of Urquhart, commanded by a stout soldier, Sir Robert de Lauder, was defended successfully

against its assailants, and continued a stronghold of the patriotic party till peace was restored to Scotland.

The long years of warfare left some marks on Inverness-shire, as well as on the rest of the country. The Comyns, the great lords of Badenoch, one of whom, as all readers of Scottish history know, had been murdered by the Bruce, disappeared from the scene, and their lands were gifted to others. Thomas Randolph, nephew of King Robert Bruce, was created Earl of Moray, with the lordship of a territory which comprised nearly the whole of what is now Inverness-shire. It included the whole lands extending from the Spey to where Glenelg meets the western sea, with its manors, townships, and thanages, and all the royal demesnes, rents, and duties. All barons and freeholders of the said earldom who held of the Crown, and their heirs, were to render their homages, fealties, attendances at courts, to Thomas Randolph and his heirs.

The new Earl of Moray thus became the most powerful northern potentate, and the overlord of many barons: he was a marked figure in his time; he acted as Regent of the kingdom in the minority of King David; and we find him holding court at Inverness, and dispensing justice with a firm hand. An incident of his vigorous rule, which occurred in the northern capital, is related by one of the early Scottish historians. The murderer of a priest having gone to Rome and procured absolution from the Pope, was brought before the Regent for trial. He was, notwithstanding his plea of papal absolution, tried, condemned, and executed: the Pope, the Regent held, might absolve him from the spiritual consequences of his crime, but for his offences against the law it was but right that he should suffer.

Towards the close of his reign (in 1369) King David II. came to Inverness in person with a considerable force, and accompanied by the barons and prelates of the kingdom.

His object was to reduce to subjection certain wild Highland lords who had kept the country in turmoil, had refused to pay their share of taxation, and generally defied the royal authority. It was the beginning of those strifes between the Crown and the chiefs that went on for centuries. The head of these insurgents was the Lord of the Isles, whose family had long intrigued with England against the Scottish Crown. The western potentate appeared in the castle of Inverness and submitted himself to the king. He supplicated the remission of his late faults: he promised that he and his following would keep the peace; that he would make reparation to all good men of the kingdom for such injuries, losses, and troubles as had been wrought by him and his sons; and he offered to give his son, his grandson, and his natural son as hostages to the king for his good behaviour. The king accepted his submission, and peace reigned for a time beyond the Highland borders.

Great social changes had by this time taken place in Inverness-shire. During the disordered state of the country the power and pride of the feudal lords in the north had been on the increase. Isolated from the rest of the kingdom, and residing among their mountain fastnesses, each of them had become a kind of sovereign to his own vassals, and exercised over them a jurisdiction almost independent of royal authority. They made war with their neighbours at their pleasure, travelled the country with military pomp, and when at home in their castles lived in barbaric magnificence. It is a characteristic of the Celtic race that they must have leaders, and this was a feeling entirely in accordance with the notions of the Normans and Saxons who had been planted among them. These barons rallied round them clans of followers who bore their names, looked to them as their leaders, and yielded to them at all times implicit obedience.

The Frasers or Frizells, lords of Lovat, a Norman family early located in the Lothians, succeeded to the chief part of the possessions of the great house of Bisset, and became chiefs of a powerful clan inhabiting the Aird and the district along the river Beauly. The Chisholms, also of the same race, one of whom had been Constable of Urquhart Castle, acquired the Erchless branch of the Bisset property, and became like their neighbours the founders of a considerable clan. The Grants, descendants of Sir Laurence le Grant or le Grand, who had been Sheriff of Inverness in the reign of Alexander III., at a time when it was highly improbable that any but a foreigner would occupy that office, obtained lands first in Stratherrick and afterwards by the river Spey, and founded the great clan that still bears their name. The Camerons were apparently also originally a Lowland family, holding lands in Forfar, Perth, and Fife as early as the thirteenth century. The surname of Cambron occurs no fewer than seven times in the Ragman Rolls—the lists of those who submitted themselves to the English king. They are sometimes termed Miles and sometimes Chevalier, and are designated as of the counties we have mentioned. A Hugh Cambron in 1214 held the office of Sheriff of Angus, and in 1261 a Robert of Cambron was forester of the castle at Cluny in Perthshire. During the reign of William the Lion, a Robert of Cambron was a witness to a grant made to the Monastery of Cambuskenneth. Very possibly the name was assumed from the district or parish of Cameron in Fife, the name of which in early charters is spelt Cambron. Some scion of this house in all likelihood acquired lands on the shores of Loch Lochy, and gathered around him the clan which bore his name. Indeed we know that in 1292 a Robert de Chambroun of Balligarnucht (Baligairny near Scone) was awarded 50 merks of pension, according to a concession of King Alexander, from

the rents of Inverness. This Robert from the south, who had come northward to push his fortunes like so many others, may have been the progenitor of the great family of Lochiel.

Probably other Inverness-shire clans were formed in like manner by strangers. The tradition of most of the clans speaks of their founders as foreigners, and the tradition is probably correct. As we have seen, the feudalisation of Inverness-shire was so complete, and the natives were so thoroughly subdued, that it is difficult to believe that any vestige of Celtic authority which may have existed in the old province of Moray had been suffered to continue. However this may be, what is called the clan system became thoroughly established throughout Inverness-shire. In addition to the clans we have mentioned, there were others equally prominent, inhabiting well-defined areas. Badenoch and the adjoining district were peopled by the Clan Chattan, a great confederation comprising several septs, such as the Macphersons, Mackintoshes, Farquharsons, and Davidsons. In Lochaber were the Macdonalds of the Isles, who had received from Balliol a grant of that district; while another branch of the same great family, called the Clanranald, held the lordship of Garmorran, comprising Moidart, Knoydart, Morar, Arisaig, and finally probably Glengarry.

The clan system thus established throughout Inverness-shire gives the key to its history throughout succeeding centuries. In its main features that system is well known, and need scarcely be described. It was a paternal form of government. The chief was regarded as the father of his people. Each district was an independent state, each clan an isolated community. The people knew no one higher than the chief, and no country except that of which his castle was the centre. His word was absolute. He held in his hand the power of life and death. His tenants followed his standard in war,

supplied his table with the produce of their labour, and their whole life was but the echo of his will.

Each clan formed a little army in which there was regular organisation. The chief was commander; the standard-bearer carried the banner of the clan; the oldest cadet led the right wing; the youngest the rear; while the head of every district was captain of his tribe. There was ample opportunity for military prowess. The feuds between the chiefs were interminable. Whatever feud was taken up by the chief was espoused by the clan, and was often handed down from generation to generation with increasing virulence. When, at rare intervals, the clans in one part of Inverness-shire were at peace, those in another part were at war, fighting their opponents in the field — harrying their lands and raiding their cattle. The history of the county is for long little else than a history of rapine, bloodshed, and internal disorder. There is scarcely anything to chronicle except the conflicts between one clan and another, or with the Crown when the king endeavoured to curb their ferocity.

The clan system of the Highlands we believe to have been the Norman polity influenced by the Celtic customs of those among whom it was planted. A clan beyond the Grampians differed but slightly from a clan on the southern Scottish Borders, at the head of which was a Norman baron. The baron held of the sovereign, and the vassals held of the baron. In the Highlands this was also the case, but there were certain peculiarities of Highland tenure which differed from that in other parts of the kingdom. When a feudal lord died, "his sovereign was entitled to see him succeeded by one capable of defending the fief; and if the nearest in blood was a minor, an imbecile, or a woman, he might refuse to renew the investiture. If a like circumstance occurred on the death of a Highland chief, the clan took up the matter, and looked

from the nearest heir by blood to some collateral relative of higher promise," to whom they gave their obedience. In this respect, and also in a few minor matters, Celtic customs prevailed; but in the main the clan system differed little from the feudal.

What took place in the north of Scotland has its counterpart in what had previously taken place in Ireland. When Henry II. went to that country in 1171, his first act was to have himself acknowledged as overlord, not only by "Strongbow," but also by the Irish chiefs. The lands of all who refused to submit were forfeited, and were apportioned among Henry's Anglo-Norman followers, who took over at the same time the headship of the clans. They became powerful chiefs. Thus the Frasers and the Camerons in Scotland had their counterparts in the Fitzgeralds and Butlers in Ireland. In after-years these Anglo-Irish chiefs, like the chiefs of Inverness-shire, were the most troublesome enemies of the English rule. Both gathered round them numerous followers, whom they ruled on feudal principles, and with whose aid they were a standing menace to royal order and authority.

The first, or almost the first, appearance of the clan system on the pages of Scottish history is connected with Inverness-shire.

In 1396 the attention of the Government was called to the warfare between two northern clans, which kept the country beyond the Grampians in a constant state of disquiet and alarm. What clans these were it is not easy now to determine. The references in contemporary historians are very obscure, especially in regard to the names which the Lowland scribes give to the septs, and which correspond to no names known now. Some have supposed the contending parties to have been the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron;

others, the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons; others, the Macphersons and the Davidsons; others, the Davidsons and the Camerons. Probably the first of these theories is the true one, though it is impossible to write on the subject with any degree of certainty. Between the Camerons and the Clan Chattan there existed an old feud regarding the possession of certain lands of Glenlui, and Locharkaig in Lochaber, claimed by the Mackintoshes by a title granted by the Lord of the Isles, which had been confirmed by the Crown, but held by the Camerons at the point of the sword. That feud lasted long, and, previous to the period of which we are writing, was the cause of a battle between the Camerons and the Clan Chattan at Invernahavon in Badenoch, when the former were defeated with great slaughter. The Government sought to settle the quarrel between the contending parties, whoever they were, by peaceable means, and commissioners were appointed to endeavour to effect a settlement. Their efforts were abortive; the quarrel was too fierce to be settled by any compromise, and ultimately a proposal was made that the opponents should abide by the ordeal of combat or wager of battle, a form of appeal to Providence which was in special favour with the Normans.

It has been said by Sir Walter Scott, who has cast the glamour of romance around this incident in the 'Fair Maid of Perth,' that it "marks with equal distinctness the rancour of these native feuds and the degraded condition of the Government of the country." The readiness with which the northern chiefs fell in with the proposal seems also to indicate their familiarity with the practice of the Norman race, to which they themselves probably belonged.

Thirty of each contending clan—that being the maximum number of compurgators required by Norman usage to clear an accused person—met on the North Inch of Perth to decide

their quarrel by the arbitrament of the sword. It was regarded as a great occasion, and many spectators were gathered together. King Robert III., his queen and Court, were present, surrounded by nobles, churchmen, knights, and foreign visitors. The population of the city and surrounding neighbourhood trooped out in large numbers to see the show. Sir Walter Scott has given so vivid a description of what took place that there is no need now to portray the scene. It is for us only to tell the result. One clan being for some cause short of a combatant, his place was supplied by an armourer of Perth called the "Gow Chrom" or Crooked Smith. The formalities required by the laws of chivalry on such occasions took place, and a murderous conflict began. At its close the only survivor of the vanquished clan sought safety by swimming the river Tay, leaving on the field eleven of the victors, among whom was the stranger who had fought in their ranks. What became of the defeated clan after the fight is a matter of conjecture. There is every likelihood that the feud which it was intended to appease continued to be waged with more or less intensity. The defeated would naturally feel that their disgrace could only be wiped out by blood, and they would thirst for vengeance. Certainly, if the combatants were, as we have supposed, the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, the quarrel between them was not brought to a close upon the banks of the Tay, but continued to be waged for many years with ever-increasing ferocity.

CHAPTER IV.

ANNALS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE NOW FALL INTO TWO DIVISIONS—THE KING AGAINST THE CLANS AND THE CLANS AGAINST EACH OTHER—EFFORTS OF THE CROWN TO BRING THE CHIEFS INTO SUBJECTION—TWO CENTURIES OF DISORDER—REBELLIONS OF THE LORDS OF THE ISLES—OF DONALD IN 1411—HIS DEFEAT AT HARLAW—VISIT TO INVERNESS OF JAMES I.—EXECUTES JUSTICE ON THE REBELS—INVERNESS BURNT BY THE ISLAND CHIEF—HIS DEFEAT IN LOCHABER AND SUBMISSION AT HOLYROOD—THE RISING OF DONALD BALLOCH—THE REBELLION OF JOHN OF THE ISLES IN 1451, AND OF HIS NEPHEW IN 1491—THE LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES FORFEITED—OTHER UPRISINGS OF THE NORTHERN CLANS—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE CROWN IN THE NORTH—THE EARL OF HUNTLY APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE HIGHLANDS — HIS DIFFICULTIES IN MAINTAINING ORDER—JOHN OF MOIDART AND THE "BATTLE OF THE SHIRTS"—THE BLACK TAILOR OF THE AXE—GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF ORDER—ROYAL VISITS TO THE NORTH—OF JAMES II., III., IV., V., AND OF MARY OF GUISE—MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT INVERNESS—THE BURGH OF INVERNESS IN THOSE TROUBLED TIMES—HOLDS ITS OWN AGAINST "CLANNED MEN" AND GROWS IN WEALTH AND PROSPERITY.

We have now come to a period when the annals of Inverness-shire fall into two divisions. Under the first we have the efforts of the Crown to bring into subjection its subjects beyond the Highland line when they became rebellious. Under the second we have the feuds of the chiefs among themselves, almost interminable, and certainly monotonous to relate with any fulness of detail: they are all of the same character, and any one of them may be taken as a sample of the rest. The history of two centuries is little else than a history of rapine and disorder.

In the struggle with royal authority, the Lords of the Isles were almost always those who raised the standard of revolt, though they were aided and abetted by other chiefs and other clans. These western magnates, after the Hebrides, which formerly belonged to Norway, were annexed by Scotland, seem to have cherished a strong feeling of antagonism to the Scottish Government. They affected the style and title of princes, maintained an army and fleet, gave charters to chiefs as their vassals, intrigued and entered into alliance with England, and spoke of the Scottish people as their "old enemies." At every suitable opportunity during many years they made efforts to maintain their independence, and to throw off their allegiance to Scotland. Inverness-shire clans were found ready to give them assistance. The Clanranald of Garmorran were their kinsmen; the Clan Cameron were their vassals; and the Clan Chattan, who were probably also their vassals for their holding in Lochaber, powerfully supported their pretensions on more than one occasion. Again and again the King of Scotland had to take the field against them, and bring them into subjection. Though often pardoned and treated with a clemency which seems surprising, they returned again and again to their old courses, and were a standing menace to the peace of the kingdom.

In 1411 the Lord of the Isles was named Donald. He was a chief who inherited all the warlike propensities and all the proud pretensions of his forebears. Taking as a pretext for hostility the rejection by the Regent of the kingdom, the Duke of Albany, of his claim to the earldom of Ross, he landed on the mainland a powerful army of Islesmen armed with bows, pole-axes, knives, and swords. With little opposition, he took possession of the territory of the earldom, his title to which had been refused. Flushed with success, he gathered together at Inverness all the forces that he could muster, and marched

southward through Moray, bent upon the conquest of Scotland. The Clan Cameron, the Clan Chattan, and the Clanranald, led by their chiefs, were among his followers. For a time he carried all before him; but at Harlaw in the Braes of Buchan he encountered a force commanded by the Earl of Mar, when one of the bloodiest battles ensued of which we have account in Scottish history. The battle was a drawn one, and neither side could claim the victory. Night came down upon the combatants, and when morning dawned the Lord of the Isles had retreated. He was ultimately obliged to yield his claims to the earldom, and after making his submission to the Crown and giving hostages for his good behaviour, he received pardon for his offences.

This rebellion was quelled, but was soon succeeded by another. "Let God but grant me life," King James I. is reported to have said on his accession to power, "and there shall not be a spot in my dominion where the key shall not keep the castle and the furze bush the cow, though I myself should live the life of a dog to accomplish it." These were brave words, and the king did his best to give effect to them. The expedition of Donald of Harlaw, as he was called, showed clearly the contempt for the law, and the general spirit of insubordination, which prevailed throughout Inverness-shire. To our county, therefore, the king came in person, determined to assert authority. Accompanied by his queen, his retinue, and large numbers of his Parliament, he crossed the Month on horseback, and took up his quarters in the castle of Inverness. There was much loyal pageantry and display in the northern capital. The Highland chiefs were commanded to give attendance for the purpose of consulting as to the best means of maintaining peace and order. Not daring to refuse, for they held their lands from the Crown, they obeyed the summons, although many of them must have done so with

fear and trembling. Forty of them were imprisoned, and among them the Lord of the Isles. They were lured like wild beasts into a trap. No sooner did they enter the hall where Parliament was assembled than they were seized and committed to prison. Some of them were condemned, after what trial we know not, to periods of imprisonment; others were executed offhand. Alexander of Garmorran was among the latter, the Lord of the Isles among the former. His imprisonment was of short duration, and on making promise of good behaviour for time to come he was released. Such promises were of little value, and before the king had well reached Edinburgh they were broken. Smarting under the indignity that had been put upon him, and the treacherous treatment he had received, the Island Lord returned to the West and raised his followers. At the head of several thousand men he marched to Inverness, the scene of his disgrace, burning for vengeance. The castle, which had been specially strengthened after Harlaw, resisted his attack; the town he pillaged and burned to the ground. Having thus gratified his vengeance, he returned to Lochaber on his way home; but ere he left that country retribution overtook him. The king with wonderful activity mustered an army, placed himself at its head, found his way into that remote district, and came unexpectedly upon his rebellious subject. The Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, on seeing the royal standard, left the Lord of the Isles and went over to the king. The Lord of the Isles was so pressed that he made proposals of surrender, which were rejected. Leaving his army, he took to flight, but even in his wild dominions the outlaw found no place of safety. In desperation he resolved to throw himself on the clemency of the king. His manner of doing this was highly dramatic. On Easter Sunday the king and queen were engaged in their devotions before the high altar in the Chapel

Royal of Holyrood, when a wild and haggard figure cast himself before them: it was the Lord of the Isles, clothed only in a shirt and drawers; in one hand he held his bonnet, in the other he held his sword by the point, and offered it to the king in token of submission. Touched by the humiliating spectacle, as well as influenced by the entreaties of his queen, the king granted the chief his life, but ordered him to be imprisoned in the castle of Tantallon. It might have been better for the peace of the country if he had been more severely dealt with.

Scarcely had this rebel been in ward when a third uprising took place, which, like that which we have noticed, affected Inverness-shire. Donald Balloch, a near relative of the imprisoned lord, enraged at the treatment of his chief, and probably with his connivance, manned his galleys of war with the strength of the clan, and, disembarking on the shores of Lochaber, joined battle with the king's forces under the Earls of Mar and Caithness. A fearful engagement took place at Inverlochy, and the Islesmen were victorious. The Earl of Caithness with many barons and knights were left dead on the field, and the Earl of Mar with difficulty rescued the remains of the royal army, and made his way by the valley of the Spean into Badenoch. According to some chroniclers, he abandoned his men and fled through the mountains. Donald Balloch then ravaged at his leisure the lands of the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, who had in the former fight deserted the banner of his chief. Having thus glutted his vengeance, he retreated with much plunder to the Islands, and afterwards sought safety in Ireland.

Another rebellion took place in 1451, headed by John, Lord of the Isles, son of the man who had humbled himself at Holyrood. Inverness-shire suffered much from him, as it had suffered from his ancestors. He demolished the

castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, seized the castles of Urquhart and Inverness, and committed many outrages on the west coast of Scotland. He received for these the forgiveness of the sovereign and was restored to royal favour, but with the obstinacy of his race he soon returned to his own courses. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Government after the death of the king, he entered into a league with England, the object of which was the conquest of Scotland. He made himself master of the castle of Inverness, and assumed in the northern capital the exercise of royal authority. He seized the customs of the town, and issued proclamations commanding the inhabitants of the North to pay him their taxes, and to refuse obedience to King James. This rebellion was in time suppressed, and again the rebel had the favour of the Crown extended to him. His nephew then rebelled, and in 1494, with a large body of his mainland vassals from Lochaber and Garmorran, and with the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, marched into Badenoch, and thence to Inverness, where they captured the castle. This achievement filled the cup of the Islesman's iniquity to the brim, and brought his lordship to a close. It was forfeited and annexed to the Crown. It was long, however, before Inverness-shire ceased to be troubled by the descendants of the western viking.

In 1503 there was an incursion of Islesmen into Badenoch which was wasted with fire and sword. This insurrect on was so formidable that three campaigns had to be undertaken before it was quelled. In 1513 a large force of Highlanders, led by Sir Donald of Lochalsh, who claimed the lordship of the Isles, aided by Macranald of Glengarry and Chisholm of Comar, seized the castle of Urquhart. This rebellion lasted five years. It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that the western family ceased to harass

Inverness-shire, though they continued to be a constant source of trouble to other parts of Scotland.

Other, but less serious, uprisings of Inverness-shire clans mark this period. The lawless state of the county may be judged from a royal mandate issued in 1528 against the Clan Chattan for "daly raising of fire, slauchter, murther, heirschippis, and wasting of the countre." The powerful barons and chiefs by whom the mandate was to be executed were to "pass all at anys upon the Clan quhattane and invade them to their utter destruction be slauchtir, byrning, drouning, and uther wayis, and lief na creatur livand of that clann except priestis, women, and bairnis." The lives of the latter were to be spared, because it were inhumanity to put hands in their blood, but they were to be shipped out of the country to Jesland, Zesland, or Norway. Fortunately for the clan this terrible sentence of extermination was not carried out, but it may be taken as indicating that at the time Inverness-shire was a boiling caldron of disorder and rapine.

The Government at last adopted a distinct, though doubtful, policy in order to strengthen its authority in the Highlands. This was to commit the power of the Crown to two great territorial houses, which had shown vast capacity for their own aggrandisement, and which were expected, from their overwhelming influence, to be able to curb the rapacity of weaker clans. In the West, Argyle, whose fortunes had risen with the downfall of the Lords of the Isles, was invested with full authority. In the North, the Earl of Huntly was in 1544 appointed Sheriff of Inverness and Lieutenant-General of all the Highlands. The reign of the latter was a troubled one. He was constantly in the field against insurgents, either in the western district of Moidart, in Lochaber, or in Badenoch. In the year of his appointment he was involved in a conflict which may be taken as a specimen

of the clan feuds of the time, and the ferocity with which they were waged.

A certain Ronald Gaulda, or the foreigner, had claimed, in opposition to John of Moidart, the chieftainship of the Clanranald—a claim which was accompanied in the usual Highland fashion with disturbance and robbery. The Earl of Huntly took the side of Ronald, and with a large force set out to invade the Garmorran country. A number of Inverness-shire clans accompanied him,—the Frasers, who were connected by marriage with Ronald, and whose lands had been harried by his opponents; the Grants, with the men of Strathspey and Glenmoriston; and the Clan Chattan with 1500 men. The Macdonalds of Lochaber and Glengarry with the Clan Cameron supported John of Moidart. The forces of the latter retired before Huntly, and without a battle he placed Ronald Gaulda in apparent possession of Moidart. On his return homewards his party divided at the Water of Gloy, a stream flowing into Loch Lochy from the east near its southern extremity. Huntly, the chief of Grant, and the Clan Chattan took the route by Lochaber and Badenoch to their respective territories. The Frasers, accompanied by Ronald Gaulda and the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, continued their journey along the Great Caledonian Glen. In the narrow pass at the south end of Loch Lochy they were set upon by John of Moidart and his following. From the hills above the ancient church of Kilfinnan the Macdonalds and Camerons swooped down like birds of prey upon their enemies. A fearful hand-to-hand conflict ensued, which lasted from mid-day till late in the afternoon. At its close the Frasers were almost entirely cut off. Lovat their chief, his eldest son Ronald Gaulda, with eighty of the gentry of the Frasers, were slain. The day was hot, and the combatants stripped themselves to

their shirts—a circumstance which led to the fight being called "Blār na leinna," or "Battle of the Shirts," a name which the field of battle bears to this day. The armourer of the Clanranalds is said to have met in the conflict with his fellow-craftsman of the Frasers. "Take that," said the Macdonald, delivering a fierce blow, "from Clanranald's blacksmith." The Fraser parried the thrust, saying, "And thou receive this from MacShimie's [Lovat's] blacksmith." When the fight was over, the two men were found lying dead side by side. It was probably the fiercest battle ever waged by the clans since that of the Inch at Perth, and many traditions regarding it still linger in Highland song and story.

John of Moidart returned triumphantly to his native wilds. In the succeeding spring, with a host of marauding followers, he swept bare Invermoriston and Glenurquhart, leaving no hoof or article of value on the raided lands. He was outlawed, and his possessions were declared forfeited, but he still maintained his own. Expeditions were sent against him in vain. Argyle was to bombard his castle from the sea, Huntly to attack it from the shore, but neither was able to disturb him. The queen-regent came in person to Inverness to deal with him, but he failed to appear. Lochiel and Keppoch, his allies, were seized and beheaded, but he himself retained his freedom. At length, after being assured by the Earl of Athole, who had been commissioned to capture him, that he would be leniently dealt with, he and his sons appeared before the queen-regent. They were committed to prison, but they made their escape and found their way back to Moidart. From this nothing could dislodge the chief. The name of the notorious rebel, John Moydartach, appears often in the annals of the time. The last mention of him in the public records is a minute in which "my

Lords" are requested to report by what means John of Moidart may be "dandonit." "Dandonit" the brave old hero never was, and he died peacefully in his own house of Castle Tirrim, forty years after the battle in which he had been victor.

Perhaps no better illustration could be found, though many more might be taken from the clan histories, of the state of Inverness-shire during the years to which this chapter relates. During this period occurred the incident of the "black tailor of the axe," a story still told on the banks of Loch Arkaig. It also illustrates the wild state of the country, not untouched by gleams of romance. The black tailor, famed for his skill in wielding the Lochaber axe, was the leader of the Camerons during the minority of their chief. While out hunting, he was taken prisoner by the Mackintoshes. "Were I in your place," said the chief of the latter clan, "what would you do with me?" "I would," replied the captive, "give you a chance of escaping with your life, and if you could get free I would let you go." "Then," said the Mackintosh, "I shall do the same with you, that you may not say you outstripped me in your generosity." A ring of armed men was formed around the black tailor, and he was told to find his way out. After looking around for a time to see if he could, as he said, "pull a stake out of the paling," he suddenly made a spring to a part of the circle; a warrior fell beneath the stroke of his axe, and darting through the opening he was free, though followed closely by his late captors. The fugitive came to a wide ditch, which he leapt. The Mackintosh, leaping after him, fell into the bog. The tailor, turning, stood over him flourishing his terrible axe above his head. "I might," he said, "but I will not;" and stretching out his hand he extricated his adversary from the morass.

Mackintosh, impressed by his generosity, waved back his men, and the black tailor disappeared. Strange to say, he was never seen again in Lochaber. He vanished, and many legends were associated with his mysterious disappearance. He is now known to have gone to Cowal in Argyleshire, where he took the name of Taylor; and one of his descendants occupies at the present time an honoured place as a professor in the University of Edinburgh. His prowess was long remembered; the place where he made his famous leap is still pointed out near the banks of the Caledonian Canal at Gairlochy, and is called to this day "the leap of the tailor." "The black tailor of the battle-axe who put defeat upon the Mackintosh" is a proverbial saying throughout the Highlands.

Much, however, was done during this period to make the law respected, and a gradual evolution of order from chaos began to take place. Besides the appointment of a lord-lieutenant, there were other measures adopted to strengthen the central authority. The royal castles of Inverness and Inverlochy were strongly fortified. Huntly not only received power to add to the fortification, but was also bound at his own expense to build upon the Castlehill of Inverness a hall of stone and lime upon vaults. It was to be 100 feet in length, 30 in breadth, and the same in height, to have a slated roof, with kitchen and chapel attached. At Inverlochy he was to raise a tower of strength with a barbican. These fortresses must have tended somewhat towards the maintenance of order.

But more than any castle-building, the establishment of courts of justice throughout the county must have conduced to law and order. There was to be a depute-sheriff at Inverness; another was to hold courts at Kingussie for Badenoch, and a third at Inverlochy for Lochaber. The justice dispensed

at these tribunals may have been of the roughest and the readiest kind; still it was better than none, and it brought home to the minds both of chief and clan the existence of an authority higher than that of both.

The royal visits to the North also specially tended to bring about a more settled condition of things It is a noteworthy fact that, though the Inverness-shire chiefs might pay but little respect to the king's laws when the sovereign was at Holyrood, when he came among them in person the principles of feudalism asserted themselves: they received him with loyalty, and paid him ready submission. The visit of King James I. to Inverness we have already noticed. A large portion of the time of James II. appears to have been spent north of the Spey, and on more than one occasion he held justice-ayres at Inverness. James III., a year after his marriage, made in 1470 a journey there, and remained in the town from the 24th of July to the 24th of August. James IV. frequently came to the northern capital: he was there in 1493, 1494 twice, in 1499, in 1501, and in 1503. James V. does not appear to have gone farther north than Athole; but he visited with a large fleet the Western Isles belonging to the county, and the mainland districts of Glenelg and Moidart, when he seized and took south with him, among other Highland chiefs, the captains of Clanranald and Glengarry. Mary of Guise, queen-regent of the kingdom, accompanied by many nobles, held at Inverness in 1555 a Convention of Estates, and visited with "extreme and vigorous punishment" many offenders against the law. The last royal visitor was Mary, Queen of Scots. In 1562 she made on horseback what Randolph in a letter to Cecil calls "a terrible journey." Leaving Edinburgh on the 11th of August, she reached Inverness on the 11th of September. She was denied admission to the castle, which was held at the time by a representative of the Earl of Huntly,

with whom the queen was at variance. The Frasers, the Munros, and the Clan Chattan came to her aid, captured the castle, and hanged the captain over the battlements. Randolph, who was in attendance on the queen, describes her visit with considerable vividness :—

"At the queen's arrival at Inverness, she, proposing to have lodged in the castle, which pertaineth to herself, and the keeping only to the Earl of Huntly (Lord Gordon), being sheriff by inheritance, was refused there to have entry, and enforced to lodge in the town. That night, the castle being summoned to be rendered to the queen, answer was given by those that kept it in Lord Gordon's behalf, that without his command it should not be delivered. The next day the country assembled to the assistance of the queen. The Gordons also made their friends come out. We looked every hour to see what shall become of the matter. We left nothing undone that was needful. And the Gordons, not finding themselves so well served, and never amounting to above 500 men, sent word to those who were within, amounting to only twelve or thirteen able men, to render the castle; which they did. The captain was hanged, and his head set upon the castle; some others condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and the rest received mercy. In all those garbulles, I assure your honour I never saw the queen merrier; never dismayed; nor never thought I that stomach to be in her that I find. She repented nothing, but, when the lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watche, that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lye all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway, with a jack and knapsack, a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword. Lest your honour should *speere* [inquire] what in this meantime I did, it may please you to know that, in good faith, when so many were occupied, I was ashamed to sit still, and did as the rest."

Unfortunately we have had little to tell in this chapter beyond the story of constant warfare. In the history of the troubled years over which we have rapidly travelled, there is but one pleasing feature which is worthy of notice. The little burgh of Inverness held its own bravely, and presented in its condition a marked contrast to the surrounding country. The town had been burned to the ground, as we have seen, by the Islesmen, but after a time of great hardship it recovered from its forlorn condition. As years went on it grew in wealth and prosperity; it carried on trade with foreign parts, chiefly with Flanders. It exported hides of cattle; skins of marten, weasels, foxes, and other wild animals; salmon, iron, and woollen cloth, spun and woven in Highland cottages, and brought to the burgh market for sale. Its imports were doubtless those of Scottish burghs of the period—wine, spices, cloth of all kinds from buckram to satin and velvet, and articles of domestic and church furniture. The growing wealth of the burgh is shown by the liberality of its indwellers to the Church; they founded altars in their parish church, and endowed chaplains to minister at them. The Scottish sovereigns entertained a sincere regard for these peace-loving citizens, and added by many charters to the privileges they already possessed. They were a community by themselves, and held no intercourse but that of trade with the tribes around. The names met with in their charters—Hay, Jasper, Vaus, Cuthbert, Dempster, Fleming, and the like—are unmingled with those of Macpherson, Mackintosh, Chisholm, or Macdonald.

The freedom the burghers enjoyed seems to have been coveted by certain of their Highland neighbours, who sought to obtain holdings within the burgh. "Outlandish men," a charter tells us, "of great clans not able or qualified to use merchandise," obtained an influence over widows of deceased

burgesses, and thus by marriage endeavoured to become possessed of property to the "hurt and skaith" of the community. Such Celtic intrusion could not be allowed. A law was therefore passed by royal authority against the "clanned men," and they were allowed neither to "scott, lott, walk, or ward" with the burgesses. What the latter possessed they would keep to themselves. The kilted Highlander might bring to the market-place the hides of the cattle his clan had raided, or the skins of the animals he had trapped among the mountains. The chief might buy from the merchant tuns of wine to enliven his castle hall, or satin and velvet to adorn his wife. Beyond that there could be no intercourse. Thus the brave little burgh kept the even tenor of its way —a centre where peace and order reigned in the midst of violence. Provost and citizen could lay their heads on their nightly pillow without fear of being awakened by the skirl of the bagpipes or the clang of broadswords. There was no other part of Inverness-shire of which that could be said.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND—SLOW PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM IN INVERNESS-SHIRE—CONFORMITY TO THE "NEW OPINIONS" MORE APPARENT THAN REAL—DEPUTATION OF THE KIRK AT INVERNESS—OFFER OF THE MACKINTOSH TO "PLANT" MINISTERS—POSITION OF THE ROMAN CLERGY IN INVERNESS-SHIRE BEFORE THE REFORMATION—MINISTERS GRADUALLY SETTLED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY—THE NEW MINISTER OF KILMALLIE AND HIS DOCTRINE—TROUBLES OF THE MINISTER OF ABERTARFF—THE REFORMATION IN THE BURGH—DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES AND DESTINATION OF THEIR PROPERTY—HARDSHIPS SUFFERED BY THE OLD CLERGY—THEIR ZEAL IN TROUBLED TIMES—CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—HUNTLY REMAINS CATHOLIC—A PERIOD OF TERRIBLE FEUDS—THE VIGOROUS RULE OF JAMES VI.—THE KING'S WRIT MADE TO RUN FREELY IN THE NORTH—THE FIGHTING CHIEFS BROUGHT BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL—THEIR SONS ORDERED TO BE EDUCATED—THE GRADUAL CESSATION OF CLAN FEUDS—A NEW EPOCH BEGINS IN INVERNESS-SHIRE.

THE Reformation in Scotland may be said to date from the year 1560. By the Estates of the kingdom the Confession of Faith was then adopted, the Pope's jurisdiction was abolished, and it was rendered criminal to say mass. Any priest doing so was liable to confiscation of goods for the first offence, to banishment for the second, and to death for the third.

It was long, however, before Protestantism took any hold in our northern region. In 1563 a commission was given to Robert Pont, one of the Superintendents under the new order, to plant kirks in the county of Inverness. He does not seem to have made much progress, for five years after he

received his appointment he was removed to a district "where his labours might be more fruitful than they could be at that time in Moray." Certain of the Inverness-shire chiefs outwardly accepted the Reformed faith. The chief of Grant had been a member of the Parliament which had adopted the Reformation. Mackintosh and Lovat appear also to have been regarded as Protestant; while Glengarry, Chisholm, the Macdonalds of Lochaber, and others remained Roman Catholic. It is generally supposed that the people accepted the religion of the chief, and followed him as readily into the Protestant Church as they did when he commanded a foray against a neighbour. This may generally have been the case, but there were exceptions. The chief of the Moidart Clanranalds became Protestant, but his people adhered to the old faith. A large part of Lovat's people also remained Catholic.

In fact, conformity to the new opinions was long more apparent than real in Inverness-shire. In a paper drawn up by the hand of Lord Burleigh, the English statesman, in 1590, we have a statement of the comparative strength of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism throughout Scotland. We learn from it that all the northern part of the kingdom, including Inverness-shire, adhered wholly or in great part to the Roman Catholic party, being commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that faith, and directed by priests who were concealed in various parts of the country. Certainly large districts of Inverness-shire, so far as the profession of religion is concerned, remained Roman Catholic.

In 1597 a deputation from the Kirk came to Inverness to confer with those friendly to Protestantism as to the planting of the country with ministers, and as to obtaining for them suitable stipends. What progress the deputation made we do not

know; but one of their number, the Rev. J. Melville, informs us in his Diary that The Mackintosh made them the following speech, which he heartily commends: "Now it may be thought I am liberall because na minister will come amungs us, therefore get me men and sey [try] me, and I will find sufficient caution for saiftie of their persones, obedience to their doctrine and discipline, and find payment of their stipend and entertainment." Such was his earnestness and zeal in the cause, that the writer tells us "MakinToshie warred [excelled] all the rest of the gentlemen of the North." But whatever "the gentlemen of the North" may have done, the people of the wide districts of Strathglass, Lochaber, Moidart, Arisaig, and Knoydart are, speaking generally, Roman Catholic at the present day, and have been so from the earliest times. "Great and blessed Morar," runs a Gaelic proverb, "where no Protestant ever preached a sermon."

It is difficult to estimate the influence of the clergy of Inverness-shire over their flocks previous to the Reformation. There is much reason for supposing it to have been more nominal than real. In the clan histories the clergy are never mentioned as taking any part whatever in repressing the terrible feuds of the period, or as acting as mediators between contending clans. They seem to have done little or nothing for the general education of the people. Except that a priest now and again draws up a deed as a notary public, or is mentioned in some charter regarding tithes and lands, we should never know of the existence of the clergy at all. Nor do the Highlanders appear to have been deeply impressed by the sanctity of the Church. They raided the lands of the priests, as they raided those of secular persons. In 1390, the Wolf of Badenoch, as he was called, in order to avenge some slight offered to him by his bishop, burned to the ground the noble Cathedral of Elgin and the manses

of the canons. In 1430, at the Feast of Palms, the Clan Chattan killed, it is said, in a certain church nearly the whole of the Camerons. In 1488 the Macdonalds of Garmorran, Lochaber, and the Clan Cameron made a raid into Ross-shire against the Mackenzies. On a Sunday morning at Contin, they found that the aged men, women, and children of the district had taken refuge in the church. Without scruple they ordered the doors to be closed, and set fire to the building, when the priest and his congregation perished in the flames. In 1603 the Macdonalds of Glengarry, on a foray in Ross, surprised a party of their enemies in the church of Kilchrist. They burned church and congregation together, Glengarry's piper marching round the building and drowning the cries of the miserable sufferers with a pibroch, which became afterwards the family tune of the victorious clan. These atrocious deeds of sacrilege indicate a total want of that reverence for the Church and the sanctities of religion which belongs to people who have emerged in any degree from the darkness of heathenism.

The process of placing ministers in Inverness-shire among such a people was necessarily very slow. Throughout the county the parishes were generally served in the first instance by a class of teachers called "Readers" and "Exhorters." The readers read the Scriptures and the common prayers, but exercised no other ecclesiastical function; the exhorters were allowed to baptise and perform the marriage ceremony, and to preach as they had the gift. There is reason to believe that some of the priests in Inverness-shire became exhorters in their parishes. The priest of Urquhart, the vicar of Kiltarlity, and the parson of Moy did so; and there were others who followed their example. Gradually, regular ministers were settled in the parishes, but it was not till 1658 that a minister was appointed to Kilmallie, the country of the Camerons, where

"he was to remain till a kirk should be built, and the people brought to some comely order." It was only in 1720 that Kilmonivaig, the great parish which comprehended the larger part of Lochaber and the wide district of Glengarry, was supplied with Protestant ministration. It is said that the new minister of the first parish endeavoured to impress upon his people the duty of forgiving their enemies. The Camerons, who had been ordered by their chief to give attendance, were greatly exercised over the new doctrine. "That was strange doctrine," one of them is reported to have said to another; "do you think it is right?" "The minister," was the reply, "is a learned man, and he should know." "That may be," said the other, "but for my part give me Moses, 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'"

Many of the ministers settled among the clans had a very difficult position to fill, and it was frequently long before they made any progress in attracting people to their services. Often the parishioners gathered together in the neighbourhood of the church to put the stone and throw the caber, while the pastor preached to empty space. The minister of Abertarff reported to the brethren of his presbytery "that he was so troubled by the Lochaber robbers, that are so numerous and broken out, that scarce had he so much time as to provide a discourse on the Sabbath-day." Occasionally the services of the churches were broken in upon by "lymaris and idle men," who turned the worship to ridicule and rendered preaching impossible. Many of the ministers were stalwart men, and some are said to have driven the people into the church by physical force. Gradually, however, difficulties were overcome, and congregations were gathered, often more perhaps by the compulsion of the chief than by the attraction of the preacher.

The burghers of the town of Inverness seem to have adopted

the Protestant faith more readily than their Highland neighbours. The year before the Reformation was established, and when changes were imminent, the provost of the convent and his chapter deposited for security their charters and valuables with the provost and magistrates of the town. Among the valuables were five chalices, silver-gilt with gold, two silver spoons, a "little relic of silver," and some vestments. These slender possessions never found their way back to the Church. All the ecclesiastical property, altarages, and lands, which belonged either to the convent or to the parish church, were conveyed by royal charter to the provost and magistrates for the hospitality and sustentation of the poor and orphans, and of ministers within the burgh, "being situated among the Highlands and undaunted people." In 1567 Thomas Howieson or Houston, who had formerly been a priest, was appointed minister of the town. During the ecclesiastical troubles in the reign of James VI., an eminent minister, Robert Bruce, was banished to Inverness, and it is said "wonderfully illuminated that dark and remote country."

The Monastery of Beauly, with its possessions, fell into the hands of Lord Lovat. The abbot of Kinloss, who was prior of Beauly, made a charter in favour of Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, granting to him the barony town and lands of Beauly, with the different possessions and salmon-fishings owned by the monks. This charter was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in 1584. There was a struggle between Lord Lovat and the Lord of Kintail for the possession of the church property in the gift of the Crown, and both went to Edinburgh for the purpose. The minister of Kirkhill gives in his journal an amusing account of how the chief of the Frasers got the better of his competitor. "Lovat, well acquainted with the road, cuts short and arrived by a day's journey before him at Edinburgh, some saying they were a night in

one and the same lodging, or perhaps in one town, on the way, unknown to one another. But be sure Lord Lovat had his intelligence of the other's motions, and made but short stay in any part till he came to his journey's end; and in short he secured his object and got his right to Beauly through the seals, before Mackenzie came to Edinburgh. The day after, they met together in the open street, and the whole matter came above-board, and Kintail found himself outwitted."

The possessions which Lovat thus cleverly obtained still remain with the Frasers; but the monks who had been dispossessed were treated with kindness. They were restored to their cells, and a provision was assigned them for the remainder of their days, though they were forbidden to say mass in the priory church. It is supposed that certain of them continued to give instruction to some of the young gentry of the north, as nothing had been done to supply the place of the monastic schools.

Of the priory buildings there are no remains. Those of the church may be still seen. Its ancient and picturesque walls, and the noble trees around it, form a pleasing feature in a beautiful landscape.

The large number of people in Inverness-shire who adhered to the old faith were not left altogether without the ministrations of their religion. Priests disguised as peasants perambulated the country in the discharge of their religious functions, and at the risk of their lives. Members of the Jesuit, Benedictine, Franciscan, and Lazarite orders planted themselves in various districts among the Roman Catholic population. One of the Jesuit stations in North Britain was Strathglass. Irish priests also found their way into Moidart and the western district, and the chief of Glengarry obtained the services of two of them for his clan.

The hardships these clergymen endured in their wanderings were very great. One of them who ministered in Moidart was apprehended, tried in Edinburgh, banished, and threatened with the penalty of death if he ventured to return. He did return, was seized by English soldiers, and was thrown into the dungeon of Glengarry Castle, where he perished. In the neighbourhood of Castletirrim the priests' hiding-place was a small cave in the hillside, like a fox's den. The records of the Presbytery of Inverness are full of notices of "seminary priests," who were duly excommunicated, and handed over to the secular authorities. The presbytery made also strict inquiry after "Popish gear." They found on one occasion an image of St Finnan in a private house in Dunlichty, and caused it to be burned with all solemnity at the cross of the burgh. Glengarry was said to be a worshipper of the "Coan," an effigy probably of the Celtic apostle St Coan, to whom a church in Knoydart was dedicated. He was charged for this offence before the Privy Council, and the image was brought to Edinburgh and burnt at the cross. The old faith could not be put down by such measures. If presbyteries were active, priests were not less so. A succession of devoted men laboured among their co-religionists till the day of toleration came. Probably under their ministrations, and beneath the ban of persecution, the people became more earnest in their religion than they had been under their old parish priests. There are to-day to be found no more devout and exemplary people than the Catholics of Inverness-shire; and it is pleasing to add that they live, and have long lived, on terms of amity and goodwill with their Protestant neighbours.

Though the great event of the Scottish Reformation did not for long affect Inverness-shire religiously, it produced politically considerable changes. The great house of Huntly remained Roman Catholic, and as the Reformed polity made

progress, the family came into antagonism both with the Government and with those chiefs who had accepted Protestantism. This gave rise to conflicts, many of which took place outside of Inverness-shire, and we are not called upon to describe them. Those within its bounds were prolonged enough. The Mackintoshes had an old feud to settle with Huntly, whose grandfather had beheaded their chief in his castle of Strathbogie, and they were prompt to seize the opportunity. With the Grants and the Frasers they entered into alliance against the Catholic earl. The Camerons, the Macphersons, and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, as the Clanranald of Lochaber were now called, gave him their support. Thus nearly all the Inverness-shire clans were in the field on one side or the other.

It is impossible to convey a picture of the country torn by such feuds as these. In 1592 the Mackintoshes "lifted" the rents of the castle lands at Inverness which pertained to Huntly, seized those belonging to him in Badenoch, and made a raid on the Camerons. In 1593 a letter of the king tells "of great incursions, fire-raising, murder of women and bairns, and heirscheip of gear and goods upon the Earl of Huntly by the Clan Chattan." In the same year the Mackintoshes and their allies seized 4000 head of horses and cattle which Huntly had sent into Lochaber for security. "The Camerons did behold the matter, but durst not encounter." In 1594 Argyle with the Protestant forces besieged Ruthven in Badenoch, but it was so gallantly defended by the Macphersons that he was unable to take it. He then marched through the mountains to Strathbogie, where he was defeated. So the strife went on; private feuds mixed with more public interests, and the whole county was in a blaze as when the heather is on fire. The conflagration at last died out. In 1597 Huntly made his peace with the Kirk at Aberdeen.

He became an avowed Protestant, and was restored to his power and his lands. The turmoil ceased for a time, but it left Inverness-shire in many parts utterly desolate, and whole glens almost without inhabitants.

James VI. of all the Scottish kings set himself most manfully to suppress disorder in the Highlands. His predecessors had governed the North as one might ride a wild horse with slackened rein, pulling it up sharply at intervals to his own personal danger. James VI. kept the bridle always tightly in his own hands, and let the animal he bestrode feel that he was on his back. His hold over his northern subjects never relaxed. He made the chiefs of the most remote districts know that the strong arm of the law could reach them in their fastnesses. He dealt sharply with them by fine and imprisonment. He compelled them to appear personally from time to time before his Privy Council in Edinburgh, and he gave them to understand that the possession of their lands depended upon their good behaviour. Intended raids on one another's territories were often stopped before they could be executed. When carried out, severe punishment followed closely upon the offence. Before the victorious chief could well reach his castle with his prey, he was served with a summons to appear before the Council. This tribunal seemed to be in direct communication with the North: whatever took place in Inverness-shire was at once reported at Edinburgh, and the king's writ was made to run as freely in Badenoch and Lochaber as in the Lothians.

The measures adopted for the pacification of the North were severe, and often cruel, but they were effective. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1587 chiefs of clans were made to find securities to a large amount, proportioned to the number of their vassals, for the peaceable behaviour of those under them. If any person was injured by the members

of a clan, he could proceed against the sureties, and exact an amount from them proportionate to the damage he had sustained. By another Act of Parliament, in 1597, all Highland chiefs were called upon to appear personally at Edinburgh, and to produce within a year the titles by which they held their lands. In consequence of this measure, and of their failure to produce proper charters, certain chiefs lost portions of their lands, which were forfeited to the Crown, though the forfeiture does not appear to have been rigorously pressed. The king's intention probably was to plant southern colonists on his newly acquired land in the Highlands; but after the failure of an experiment of the kind made in the island of Lewis, his project was abandoned.

But more than by any enactment passed by Parliament or Privy Council, the Highlands were influenced by a decree which enjoined that the sons of chiefs should have a liberal education. "The chief principal caus," it narrates, "whilk hes procurit and procuris the continuance of barbaritie, impuritie, and incivilitie within the Yilis of this kingdom hes proceedit from the small cair that the chieftains and principall clannit men of the Yilis hes haid of the upbringing of thair childrene in virtue and lerning; who being carles of thair dewtis in that poynte, and keeping thair childrene still at home with thame, whair they see nothing in thair tender years but the barbarous and incivile formes of the countrie, thay are thairby maid to apprehend that thair is no better formes of dewtie and civilitie keepit in any other part of the countrie, sua that when thay come to the yeirs of maturitie hardlie can thay be reclaimed from these barbarous, rude, and incivil formes, whairas if thay had been sent to the inland in thair youthe, and trainit up in vertew, learning, and the Inglische tongue, thay would have been better able to reforme thair countryeis and to reduce the same to godli-

ness, obedience, and civilitie." This was the wisest of all King James's measures. Though in the first instance applicable only to the Islands, it was carried out throughout the northern Highlands. Young Inverness-shire chiefs were educated at the great seats of learning in Scotland, England, and on the Continent. Nothing could have tended more towards civilisation, and it is perhaps also in some degree true that "the first traces of that overflowing loyalty to the House of Stewart, for which the Highlanders have been so highly lauded, are to be found in that generation of their chiefs whose education was conducted on the High Church and State principle of the British Solomon."

Our limited space prevents us from giving any detailed account of the feuds which from time to time occurred in Inverness-shire, even during the vigorous reign of King James VI. — the Clan Cameron against Glengarry, Mackintoshes against Camerons, Camerons against Macdonalds, Huntly against the one or the other or both. The feud between the Clan Chattan and the Earl of Moray was of the most ferocious character. The Clan Chattan had been for many years friends of the earl, who had granted them valuable lands and possessions in return for various services they had rendered him. Having now, as he thought, no further need of their assistance, he withdrew his donations. Then arose a terrible conflict. The dispossessed clan determined to recover the abstracted territory. Two hundred gentlemen and 300 followers banded themselves together. The old historian Spalding gives a picturesque account of their operations. "They keeped the fields in their Highland weid, with swords, bowes, arrows, targets, hagbuttis, pistollis, and other Highland armour; and first began to rob and spulzie the earl's tenents, who laboured their possessions of their haill goods, geir, insight plenishing, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, and cattell,

and left them nothing that they could gett within their bounds; syne fell sorning throwout Murray, Strathawick, Urquhart, Ross, Sutherland, Brae of Man, and diverse other places, takeing their meat and food perforce wher they could not get it willingly, frae friends alse weill as frae foes; yet still keeped themselves from shedeing of innocent blood. Thus they lived as outlawes oppressing the country (besydes the casting of the earl's lands waist), and openly avowed they had tane this course to gett their own possessions again, or then hold the country walking." In the end, the Earl of Moray had the best of it. He got himself appointed the king's lieutenant in the Highlands, and received power to proceed capitally against his enemies. He was enabled to do so with considerable success. He made peace privately with some members of the clan, who betrayed the others, and having by virtue of his commission tried and executed "some slight louns followers of the Clan Chattan," he brought the difficulty to a peaceful issue. The story is a slight specimen of what went on at the time in every quarter of the country. It is sufficient to say that the supremacy of the law was always in the long-run asserted, though often very roughly, and not always with perfect justice. There is a monotonous simplicity in the process followed: offending chiefs had to travel to Edinburgh to appear personally before the Council, when they were severely fined, or put in ward, or forced to "chop hands" together and swear friendship. If they did not appear they were outlawed, "letters of intercommuning" were issued against them, and their lands were wasted with fire and sword by some neighbour to whom the Crown intrusted the commission, on the principle, as it was said, of "garring ane devil dang anither," and who often used it as much for his own interest as to uphold the supremacy of the law. Gradually the clan feuds ceased, or at least broke out at rarer

intervals. We enter upon a new epoch. The Highlandmen of Inverness-shire came to exercise their military prowess on a wider field than in strife among themselves, and in stealing each other's cattle. They are heard of henceforth as actors in scenes which occupy a conspicuous place in the nation's history.

CHAPTER VI.

HIGHLAND SEERS PROPHESY TROUBLOUS TIMES IN 1644—THEIR PROGNOSTICATIONS FULFILLED—MONTROSE BREAKS WITH THE COVENANT AND JOINS THE KING—THE FIERY CROSS SPEEDS THROUGHOUT INVERNESS-SHIRE—COLKITTO APPEARS IN THE COUNTY—ALARM OF THE BURGHERS OF INVERNESS—CAMPAIGN OF MONTROSE IN THE NORTH—HIS GAME OF "HIDE-AND-SEEK" ROUND THE GRAMPIANS — INVERNESS-SHIRE CLANS JOIN HIS STANDARD—HIS DESCENT UPON ARGYLE—CAMPS AT KILCHUMIN — HIS MARCH TO INVERLOCHY — THE BATTLE OF INVERLOCHY — HIS RETREAT TO INVERNESS-SHIRE AFTER PHILIPHAUGH — LAYS SIEGE TO THE TOWN—DISBANDS HIS ARMY—TWO OTHER ATTEMPTS TO RETRIEVE THE ROYAL FORTUNES—THE LAST EFFORT OF MONTROSE—HIS APPEARANCE AS A PRISONER AT INVERNESS—INFLUENCE OF MONTROSE ON THE HIGHLANDERS — INSPIRES THEM WITH LOYALTY TO THE STEWARTS.

In 1644 Highland seers were busy in Inverness-shire. Those gifted with second-sight had visions of contending armies, and those not so gifted noted with alarm occurrences which appeared to them portents of coming calamity. "Prodigious signs, apparitions, spectres, and strange sights presaging war and revolutions—such as men fighting in the air, horse and foot retreating and returning—were all visibly observed," and are noted by a local historian. "Two of our fleshers," he tells us, going one morning into Inverness, "saw an army, foot and horse, marching before them, and heard the rattling noise of their arms till they came and entered into the woods of Bunchrew. Another evening, three men going to the ferry of Beauly saw an army marshalled, horse and foot, the very

colour of their horses and clothes, kettle-drums and ensign, apparent." This was not all: "Two prodigious whales came up the firth with a high spring-tide, the one pursuing the other, and fastened both upon the shallow sands. They were so big and high that the people made use of small ladders to reach their top. There were also two porpoises that ran up the river Ness under the bridge, and reached the Isle a mile above the town, where they were killed. Some conjectured that the two whales were an emblem of the king and Parliament pursuing one another; but, alas! these things portended no good. Another wonderful event happened above Beauly three several evenings—two parties fighting, so that men saw the glistening of their swords slashing at one another."

These strange prognostications found ample interpretation in subsequent events that took place in Inverness-shire. Southern Scotland had for some years been convulsed by the strife which followed the ill-advised attempt of King Charles I. to interfere with the religious convictions of his Scottish subjects. The royal forces and those of the Covenant were arrayed against each other, and the districts they traversed experienced the terrible calamities of civil war. The conflict, as it rose and fell, did not affect to any extent the county of Inverness. Grant, Lovat, and Mackintosh were Covenanters; and when in 1638 the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, and others of the party came to Inverness, the inhabitants of the town signed the Covenant, with the exception of the minister and a few others. But the greater part of the people of the county held aloof from the controversy, and took no active part either for king or for Covenant. The Camerons, Macpherson, Clanranald, Glengarry, and Keppoch remained peacefully within their own bounds, and viewed the religious strife from afar. But their swords were

not allowed to remain long in their scabbards, and a series of events took place which called them all into the field. Montrose, having broken with the Covenanters and joined the king, received a commission as king's lieutenant to raise the clans, and the fiery cross was soon speeding throughout Inverness-shire.

Early in July 1644 Alexander Macdonald—better known by his patronymic of Colkitto, or among the Gaelic people as Alasdair MacCholla Chiataich — landed in Argyleshire with a band of Irish soldiers, and, after capturing some Argyleshire castles, came to Knoydart. Thence he marched by Glen Quoich through Glengarry to Kilchumin, now Fort Augustus. The burghers of Inverness, who had so lately signed the Covenant, heard of his coming with alarm. "A number of Irish rebels," their minutes record, "a foreign public enemie, having invaded the kingdom and advanced to Glengarie, being about 3000, with intention to force all persons to join with them in ane black and doleful Covenant just opposite to their National Covenant lately subscrivit by the two kindgoms of Scotland and England. Therefore, that they prove not slack or deficient to their power to oppose the said public enemie in maintenance of the law subscrivit thereanent, have thought it expedient that eighty of the most resolute and best framed muscateers be presently sent from the borough to the heights of Stratherrick. John Cuthbert of Castlehill to be captain and prime commander, and to follow the said Irish rebels into Badenoch." The "resolute and best framed muscateers" were not able to impede their progress. Accompanied by the men of Glengarry, Colkitto marched through Badenoch, where he was joined by the Macphersons under the eldest son of Cluny, and reached Blair Athole. There he was met by Montrose; the royal standard was solemnly unfurled, and the campaign

commenced which adds such lustre to the fame of the great commander.

We have only to do, in these pages, with that part of the campaign—certainly not the least brilliant—which took place in Inverness-shire. The battle of Tippermuir, the occupation of Perth, the capture of Aberdeen, followed in quick succession. From Aberdeen, Montrose came through Strathdon and the mountain-passes of the Grampian range to Rothiemurchus on the banks of the Spey: there he intended to cross the river, but the Frasers and the Grants had seized the boats and menaced him with an army of 3000 men. He was now between two hostile forces, for the army of the Covenanters, led by Argyle, was farther east in Huntly's country; but he was equal to the occasion, and he now commenced that succession of rapid movements which his army of hardy mountaineers were so well able to execute, and which were characteristic of this great general. His object was to weary out his opponents by long marches ere he struck a decisive blow. He and they played a mutual "game of hide-and-seek" round the Grampians and through their passes. One week he was on the one side of the mountains and the next on the other. From Rothiemurchus he went down Speyside to Abernethy; thence he returned to Rothiemurchus, and from there into Badenoch. Here he was very unwell, and thought to be dying; but in a few days he was on the move again, "like to one risen from the dead," and marched by Dalwhinnie to Blair Athole. From this place he continued "his strange and rapid orbit," Argyle and his forces crawling heavily after him. He swept through Killiecrankie, passed into Angus, crossed the Dee into Strathbogie, thence by the Spey into Badenoch again, and from thence he led his warriors by a forced march by night to Blair Athole. His enemies, now thoroughly tired out, had retreated into winter quarters, and

he resolved to strike a decisive blow. Most of the royal clans surrounded his standard, and among them were those of our county — John of Moidart, chief of the Clanranald, Glengarry and Keppoch, with their men. The Badenoch Macphersons were there, and a detachment of the Clan Cameron sent by Lochiel, who was himself too old to take the field. The blow Montrose struck was daring and severe.

With his gallant following he passed down Loch Tay side and by Glenorchy into the country of Argyle, which he swept with fire and sword up to the doors of the castle of Inveraray. Even the Highland annals contain no account of a devastation so terrible as that which he inflicted on the land of the Campbells. To use the striking expression of Scripture, he "shaved it as with a razor." Hundreds of the inhabitants were put to the sword, their dwellings being given to the flames, and their cattle in vast herds driven away: none who were fit to bear arms were spared. "They left no house or hold except impregnable strength unburnt; their corn, goods, and gear; and left not a four-footed beast in his haill lands; and such as would not drive they houghed and slew that they should never make stead." So says a writer of the time. Yet bad as the spoliation was, it was not worse than that inflicted by Argyle on the Braes of Angus, when he swept the lands of the Ogilvies with fire and sword, and burnt "the bonnie house of Airlie."

Leaving desolation behind him, Montrose came once more into Inverness-shire by the Pass of Glencoe. Crossing the wild muirlands that skirt Lochtreig and Loch Ossian, he reached Lochaber by the pass through which the railway now runs to Fort William, and then skirting the shores of Loch Lochy and Loch Oich, he came to Kilchumin, or Fort Augustus, where he pitched his camp at a place called Leiter nan Lub. Here he remained several days, holding

councils of war and deliberating as to his future course. This was suddenly decided. On the 30th January there arrived at the camp the celebrated bard of Keppoch, Ian Lom, or John the Bare, who brought tidings that Argyle had established himself at Inverlochy with an army, and was spoiling the Braes of Lochaber. Instantly Montrose resolved to give him battle ere he could effect a junction with the Covenanting forces at Inverness. It was a hasty resolve, but it was well taken. His men were in splendid condition, jubilant with their successes—"well breathed by their long foray in the West, and high-blooded with Argyleshire beef." They were ready to encounter any foe, however formidable; to encounter Argyle, whom they hated, was a pleasant undertaking. The direct way to Inverlochy from Kilchumin lies by the shores of Loch Lochy and Loch Oich and the line of the present Caledonian Canal; but it was the object of Montrose to take his enemy by surprise, and he therefore adopted a more circuitous route.

Placing guards on the regular tracks to prevent intelligence of his movements being carried to Argyle, he began his wonderful march. On the 31st January 1645 his camp was in motion. They ascended the bed of the river Tarff, a rugged stream that comes brawling down to Loch Ness. Then they crossed the wild range of Corryarrick, and keeping well to the right, they came upon the river Roy, which they followed into the glen bearing its name. This they descended, passing the celebrated parallel roads, and so by Bohuntin to the valley of the Spean. It was a terrible march. The hills were deep with snow and the water-courses swollen. The journey could only have been accomplished by men inured to hardship. Crossing the river Spean near Roy Bridge, they probably followed the rough track by Corrychoile, Leanachan, and Dounie. On the evening of Saturday the 1st of February

they were within gunshot of the enemy. Above them towered the mighty Ben, in front of them were the dark towers of Inverlochy shining in the moonlight. They lay upon their arms all that night, exchanging occasional shots with the enemy, whose scouts they had killed in their advance. When the morning of Sunday the 2d February 1645 dawned they made ready for the attack. The most of them had not tasted a bit of bread during their two days' march. "The General himself and the Earl of Airlie had no more to break their fast when they went to battle than a little meal mixed with cold water, which out of a hollow dish they did pick up with their knives for want of spoons." The royal standard was unfurled and formally saluted, the pipes, trumpets, and kettle-drums sounded, and the battle began. The onslaught of the clans was fierce. "The rebels," Montrose says, "could not stand it, but after some resistance at first, they began to run." Argyle himself had taken no part in the battle, but viewed it in safety from his galley moored in Loch Linnhe. Some have said he did so because he was suffering from a broken arm, while others attribute his conduct to cowardice. When his men were defeated he set sail and departed, leaving them to their fate. The slaughter of his people was great: 1500 of them lay dead on the field. Those that escaped took their flight along the slopes above the present town of Fort William. They were followed by the victors as they made for Argyleshire as far as Lundivra, near which a cairn still stands which marks the spot where the pursuit ceased. It was a decisive battle. The power of the Campbells was broken, and Ian Lom, who had viewed the conflict from a distance, celebrated the victory over the enemies of his clan in impassioned strains, which are well known to the lovers of Gaelic poetry. Montrose at the conclusion of the battle sent an account of it to his royal master. The words

with which the letter closes are full of the exultation produced by victory: "Give me leave, after I have reduced this country and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty, as David's general to his master, Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name."

We have little more to tell of the exploits of Montrose, for his subsequent career lies beyond the limits of this story. After resting his men for a few days at Inverlochy, he went north by Loch Lochy and Loch Oich to Kilchumin, thence through Stratherrick by Boleskine and Loch Faraline into Strathnairn, then into Strathdearn, and so to Speyside, where he was joined by the Grants, whence he passed into Morayshire. After his defeat by General David Leslie at Philiphaugh, Montrose came again to the north to raise the clans, and laid siege to Inverness. "He fixed his guns," says one who witnessed the siege, "upon the old Castlehill under a hawthorn-tree due east, and battered shot. The river being fordable, several of his horse and foot sallied out as scouts westward to the Aird, and surprised the people of Farnua sowing their seed." The garrison defended themselves most valiantly. Montrose, not being supported by Huntly as he had expected, was forced to raise the siege, and retreated as General Middleton was entering from Petty. He then travelled by Strathglass and Glenmoriston, Kilchumin and Stratherrick, into Strathspey, ravaging the country as he went with fire and sword. The Clan Fraser had always opposed him, and he now took his revenge. "Betwixt the bridge-end of Inverness and Guisachan, sixteen miles," says the minister of Kirkhill, "there was not left in my country a sheep to bleat or a cock to crow, so severe were the depredations."

The hopes of Montrose were now very high: he had the Highlanders again at his back, and everything pointed to

a campaign that would efface the defeat of Philiphaugh. His hopes, however, were suddenly frustrated: he received orders from the king to disband his forces and to seek refuge on the Continent. When the great general next appeared in Inverness-shire it was as a prisoner.

Two other attempts by the brave Highlanders were made to retrieve the royal fortunes, which we can only glance at. In 1647 Huntly received a private commission from the king to raise an army, and for a time he made a gallant stand. He was opposed by David Leslie, and was forced to retire through Badenoch into Lochaber, where he disbanded his forces, and with a few friends sought refuge in flight. Leslie followed closely after him, captured Ruthven, and held the castle of Inverlochy. Another great general then engaged in the pursuit of Huntly, following him through Glenmoriston into Badenoch and other places, and he was at length captured in Strathdon.

In May 1649, after the execution of Charles I., a northern rising in support of the royal cause took place under Lord Reay and others, which was equally abortive. At the head of 1500 of their followers they entered the town of Inverness, expelled the troops from the garrison, and demolished the walls of the town. "They crossed the bridge of Ness," says the minister of Kirkhill, "on the Lord's Day in time of divine service and alarmed the people of Inverness, impeding God's worship in the town. For instead of bells to ring into service I saw and heard no other than the noise of pipes, drums, pots, pans, kettles, and spits in the streets to provide them victuals in every house. And in their quarters the rude rascality would eat no meat at their tables until the landlord laid down a shilling Scots upon each trencher, calling this 'argiod cagainn' (chewing-money), which every soldier got, so insolent were they." This formidable body was soon afterwards defeated

when they had crossed the Spey, 400 being killed and 1000 disarmed and made prisoners. The latter were conveyed through Moray to Inverness, "where," says the worthy minister, "I saw them pass through; and those men who in the former march would hardly eat their meat without money, are now begging food, and like dogs lap the water, which was brought them in tubs and other vessels, in the open streets. Thence they were conducted over the bridge of Ness, and dismissed every man, armless and harmless, to his own house: this is a matter of fact which I saw and heard."

In the spring of 1650 the gallant Montrose made his last effort in behalf of the cause which he had so long and so nobly supported. He landed in Caithness with a small body of men and proceeded southwards, wishing to reach Inverness-shire, where he hoped to be joined by his old companions in arms. He was opposed by an overwhelming force, and was defeated. Seeking safety among the hills of Sutherlandshire, he was captured by Macleod of Assynt, and delivered over to his enemies. They carried him to Edinburgh in triumph. From the Diary of the minister of Kirkhill, we get a glimpse of the hero as he passed through Inverness-shire, and took his last look at the mountains he knew so well, and had so often traversed. "I set down," says the minister, "that which I myself was an eyewitness of. On 7th of May at Lovat, Montrose sat upon a little shelty horse without a saddle, but a bundle of rags and straw, and pieces of ropes for stirrups; his feet fastened under the horse's belly, and a bit halter for a bridle. He had on a dark, old, reddish plaid, and a cap on his head; a muscateer on each side, and his fellow-prisoners on foot after him. Thus he was conducted through the country; and near Inverness, on the road to Muirton, where he desired to alight and called for a draught of water, being then in the first crisis of a high fever, the

crowd from the town came forth to gaze. The two ministers went thereupon to comfort him. At the end of the bridge, stepping forward, an old woman, Margaret M'George, exclaimed and brawled, saying, 'Montrose, look above, see those ruinous houses of mine, which you occasioned to be burned down when you besieged Inverness'; yet he never altered his countenance, but with a majesty and state beseeming him, kept a countenance high. At the cross was a table covered, and the magistrates treated him with wine, which he would not taste till alloyed with water. The stately prisoners, his officers, stood under a fore-stair and drank heartily. I remarked Colonel Hurry, a robust, tall, stately fellow with a long cut on his cheek. All the way through the streets he (Montrose) never lowered his aspect. The provost, Duncan Forbes, taking leave of him at the town's end, said, 'My lord, I am sorry for your circumstances.' He replied, 'I am sorry for being the object of your pity.'"

So the noble and gallant gentleman, with brave heart and head erect, passes to his doom.

Montrose was a great power in determining the destiny of the Highlanders. When the Inverness-shire clans joined him, they were attracted to his standard more probably from hatred to Argyle than from affection for King Charles. Gillespic Gruamach, or Grim Archibald, as they called that nobleman, was their dread foe. Ever since the downfall of the Lords of the Isles his family had gone on acquiring territory in the West, and was now threatening to add lands in Inverness-shire to its possessions. Argyle had obtained the superiority of Loch Eil and of Glengarry; that of Badenoch he had received from the Presbyterians. He was credited with a scheme for the acquisition of all Lochaber. There was apparently no limit to his acquisitiveness. All the Inverness-shire chiefs regarded him as their enemy. Had he been on

the side of the king, they would probably have been on that of the Covenant. Montrose inspired them with a true feeling of loyalty. They never forgot the lesson he taught them. Henceforth devotion to the Stewarts became with them a kind of religion. It induced them to take up the cause of the king when it seemed to others hopeless. Through long years their swords were always at his command. It was not until Culloden had sealed the fate of the Stewarts that they ceased to follow in the footsteps of Montrose.

CHAPTER VII.

CROMWELL IN THE NORTH—HIS CONQUEST OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—BUILDS A CITADEL AT INVERNESS—DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS—CHURCHES RAZED TO BUILD IT—A VESSEL OF WAR PLACED ON LOCH NESS—THE CHIEF OF GLENGARRY PLOTS INSURRECTION — THE RISING OF 1653 UNDER GLENCAIRN — WONDERFUL MARCH THROUGH THE COUNTY OF GENERAL MONK—FINAL DEFEAT OF GLENCAIRN—EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHIEL REFUSES TO MAKE TERMS WITH THE ENGLISH—THE "ULYSSES OF THE HIGHLANDS"—HIS CHARACTER, AND STRUGGLES WITH CROMWELL'S SOLDIERS—MAKES PEACE WITH MONK—ACCOMPANIES HIM TO LONDON AT THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—RESTORATION OF THE KING RECEIVED WITH JOY IN THE NORTH—THE CITADEL OF INVERNESS DEMOLISHED—INFLUENCE OF CROMWELL'S SOLDIERS ON THE PEOPLE — ON THEIR DEPARTURE THE COUNTY BECOMES TURBULENT — THE KEPPOCH MURDER AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE MURDERERS—"THE WELL OF THE SEVEN HEADS"—THE MACKINTOSHES INVADE LOCHABER —THE OLD FEUD BETWEEN THEM AND THE CAMERONS CLOSED—THE LAST OF THE CLAN BATTLES OF INVERNESS-SHIRE — THE FIGHT AT MULROY—"MACDONALD TOOK THE BRAE ON THEM"—THE COUNTY ASSUMES ITS PRESENT GEOGRAPHICAL AREA.

A NEW power was now to make itself felt in Inverness-shire. That county, with the rest of Scotland, was to experience the effect of foreign domination. After the battle of Worcester the soldiers of Cromwell overran the greater part of the kingdom, and established their garrisons from Berwick-on-Tweed to Stornoway in the remote island of Lewis. Apparently with little difficulty they conquered the Highlands. The forces of the clans were no match for their well-disciplined troops. Their armies found their way into the most inaccessible places, and marched unmolested through

the wildest passes. They struck terror into the hearts of the Highlanders, who submitted themselves to the Englishmen almost without resistance. Cromwell's soldiers treated the people kindly, abstained from plundering, paid for whatever supplies they received, and generally exercised a civilising influence on the inhabitants.

In November 1651 Colonel Fitch occupied Inverness, quartering his men in the castle and "great houses betwixt Spey and Loch Ness." In the spring of the next year he commenced building a citadel, which was to accommodate 2000 men, horse and foot. "The wall," a letter from Inverness at the time informs us, "is to be of freestone, and will be of great use when finished. The ground it is to be built on is by an arm of the sea, and the river Ness, over which there is a bridge made. On Monday they are to begin digging the grafts, which are to partake of the water of Ness."

A full account of the erection is given by the minister of Kirkhill in his Diary. In 1655 he writes: "The Citadel of Inverness is now on a great length, almost finished. They had first built a long row of buildings made of bricks and planks upon the river-side to accommodate the regiment, and ramparts and bulwarks of earth in every street of the town, and also fortified the castle and the bridge and the main court of guard at the Cross. They bought a large plot of ground from the burghers, called Carseland, where they built the citadel, founded May 16, 1652, and now finished, a most stately scene! It was five-cornered, with bastions, with a wide trench that an ordinary barque might sail in at full tide; the breast-work three storeys, built all of hewn stone lined within, and a brick wall. Sentinel-houses of stone at each corner, a sally-port to the south leading to the town, and on the north a great entry or gate called the Port, with a strong drawbridge of oak, called the Blue Bridge, and a stately

structure over the gate, well cut with the Commonwealth arms and the motto 'Togam tuentur arma.' This bridge was drawn every night, and a strong guard within. Ships or shallops sailing in or out, the bridge was heaved to give way. The entry from the bridge into the citadel was a stately vault about 70 feet long, with seats on each side, and a row of iron hooks for pikes and drums to hang on. In the centre of the citadel stood a great four-square building, all hewn stone, called the magazine and granary. In the third storey was the church, well furnished with a stately pulpit and seats, a wide bartizan on top, and a brave great clock with four large gilded dials and a curious ball. . . . North-west and north-east are lower storeys for ammunition, timber, lodgings for manufactories, stablings, provision and brewing houses, and a great long tavern with all manner of wines, viands, beer, ale, and cider, sold by one Master Benson, so that the whole regiment was accommodated within these walls. All their oak planks and beams were carried out of England in ships to Kessock Roads; all their fir logs and spars were sold out of Hugh Fraser Struy's woods: I saw that gentleman receive 30,000 merks at once for timber. Most of their best hewn stone was taken from Chanonry — the great cathedral and steeple and the bishop's castle were razed—also from the Church and Abbey of Kinloss and Beauly, the Greyfriars' and St Mary's Chapel at Inverness, and many more, so that it was a sacrilegious structure, and therefore could not stand. The whole expense amounted to about eighty thousand pounds."

It must have been a brave structure, and calculated to overawe the neighbouring clans, as it stood there strong and impregnable with its blue banner floating above with the name "Emmanuel" written upon it in letters of gold. But the Englishmen performed another feat of engineering, which was thought at the time even more remarkable than the building

of the citadel. They constructed at Inverness a vessel, or frigate, as she was called, capable of containing sixty men, and carried her overground to Loch Ness. "This day," says a letter from the town, "a pinnace of above forty tons was launched by the understanding and exceeding pains of Captain Pestle, captain of the *Satisfaction;* and some of his seamen, with almost all the soldiers, with officers of Colonel Fitch's regiment, was drawn six miles and upwards overland, to the great admiration of all who were spectators; it being a work thought almost impossible. Considering the bulk of the vessel, and the ill way she was drawn over, I believe the like was never undertaken. The men broke three cables, seven inches, with hauling of her, yet it was incredible to see with what cheerfulness she was carried through their great labour. There is appointed divers soldiers and seamen to be put in her, and four pieces of ordnance, and to sail up and down a standing water called lough Nesse. She will do excellent service in preventing the Highlanders to make their passage that way, which is frequented by them."

While these brave doings were going on in the Highland capital, the turbulent spirits among the clans were plotting insurrection. The chief of Glengarry went everywhere through the North trying to effect a rising among the Highlanders. From the letters of Cromwell's soldiers his labours among the "wilde men," as they called them, were incessant. "Glengarry," writes Colonel Lilburne to Cromwell, "had a meeting in the Highlands about Strathglass. I perceive he hath been tampering with all the chiefs of clans in and about Loughaber and northward." "Their plots do ripen," he writes again, "especially among the mountains; undoubtedly one from Charles Stuart has been with Glengarry, which hath put a great deal of life into these kind of cattle." From Paris in 1652 Charles II. sent a commission to Glengarry, Cameron,

Laird of Lochiel, Macdonald of Keppoch, Fraser Foyers, and others, constituting them a council of war. This council met in the following year at Glenelg, and sent a letter to the exiled King assuring him of their readiness to spend their lives in his service. The result of these movements, in which Glengarry was the leading spirit, was the Rising in 1653 under Lord Glencairn. Glengarry brought 300 men to his banner; Cameron of Lochiel 400; and some of the other clans of Inverness-shire were also represented, though the Badenoch men refused to join. The hopes of the Royalists were short-lived. In Badenoch Lord Lorn, braving the curse of his father, joined them with 1000 foot and 50 horse; but soon after left them, and marched off with his forces in a huff, conceiving himself insulted by certain of the chiefs. As his father was the superior of Badenoch, he thought himself entitled to command the troops. This demand was refused, and he returned home. This was the precursor of failure. The army moved northward, and at Dornoch General Middleton, who had been sent by the king, took the command. Middleton was an able general, but he had to contend with men of greater ability.

General Monk, Governor of Scotland under Cromwell, hastened northwards with an army, and his march through the wildest parts of Inverness-shire is one of the most astonishing feats of the kind ever recorded. Any one who knows the country will concur in this opinion. From Ruthven in Badenoch he marched on the 20th of June to Cluny, and thence to Glenroy. On the 23d he met, at the south end of Loch Lochy, the Marquis of Argyle and the governor of Inverlochy. On the 24th he reached Glenmoriston, and on the way he met Colonel Morgan's brigade "near Glengarry's new house, which had been burned by that brigade the day before.' The remaining structure Monk ordered to be defaced by

pioneers. On the 25th the army came to Glenquoich, at the head of Glengarry, and encamped. On the 26th it reached Kintail; on the 27th it came to Loch Alsh; on the 29th, taking the road from Kintail to Glen Strathfarrar, it came to a place called by the general Glenteugh; on the 30th it marched from this place to Brouline in Glen Strathfarrar. "The way for near five miles," the general says, "was so boggie that a hundred baggage-horses were left behind, and many other horses bogged or tired. Never any horseman, much less an army, were observed to march that way before." From Glen Strathfarrar, Monk marched up Strathglass and down Glenurquhart to Inverness. Thence he went southwards through Strathnairn. At Faille, in that strath, he met with General Morgan, whom he sent towards Braemar to watch the enemy's movements. In Argyleshire he heard that Morgan had met with Middleton's forces, and had utterly routed them near Loch Garry, on the northern border of Perthshire, near Drumuchtar. The defeat at Loch Garry ended the rising of Glencairn, and in his own words, "the king's interest was broken in Scotland."

Most of the Inverness-shire chiefs now gave bonds for their good behaviour to the Government of the Commonwealth, and were permitted to live in peace within their bounds. There was one of them, however, who for long would make no terms with the English invaders. This was the chief of Lochiel.

Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, known among the Highlanders as Eoghain Dubh, or Black Ewen, and among Cromwell's Englishmen as MacIlduy, was one of the outstanding figures of his time; he was chief among chiefs. Of great strength and courage, inured to hardship, skilful in the chase, and brave in battle, he possessed all those physical qualities that naturally command the admiration of a warlike people. He

was also one whose moral and intellectual power were equally conspicuous. He was a man of great natural wisdom, which compensated for a somewhat defective education. He had above all for the time a high ideal of character and life. Chivalrous to a degree, he in many ways resembled Montrose, whom he regarded as his model. He was adored by his clan, who supposed him to be possessed of supernatural powers. His turbulent neighbours respected him as a soldier and a leader of men, and even his enemies spoke of him with admiration. His Memoir reads like the life of one of Plutarch's heroes. He has been happily called by Lord Macaulay "the Ulysses of the Highlands."

Lochiel had been brought up under the guardianship of Argyle, whose vassal he was, but at an early age he cast in his lot with the Royalists. He joined Glencairn in his insurrection, and he was one of Middleton's most trusted officers. Cromwell's soldiers at Inverlochy, where they had built a fort, lived in constant dread of their neighbour. The relation of his exploits in harassing the garrison there forms a large portion of his Memoirs. When the soldiers of the Commonwealth showed themselves abroad, he constantly fell upon them and defeated them. Cromwell's troopers were obliged to perform their devotions as regularly as their drill, and the daily prayer of an Irishman who escaped from the chief's hands is said to have been, "that God in His mercy would be pleased to keep him out of the hands of Lochiel and his bloody crew for the rest of his life." The spot is still shown near Achdalew, on the north side of Loch Eil, where the chief engaged in mortal combat with an officer commanding a party from the fort. The officer, having lost his sword, closed with his antagonist, and wrestled with him till they both fell to the ground in each other's arms. In their struggle they rolled into the channel of a burn, which the drought of summer had

left dry. Their strength was so spent that neither of them could stir a limb; but at last the Englishman recovered the use of his right hand, and seized a dagger that hung at his belt, meaning to stab his enemy, who held him fast. In endeavouring to disengage himself to give the blow, he stretched and exposed his neck, when Lochiel jumped at his extended throat, which he used to say "God had put into his mouth," and bit it right through, keeping such a hold that he brought away the mouthful. "This," he said, "was the sweetest bite I ever had in my life."

But even Lochiel had at last, for the sake of his clan, to make peace with the Englishmen. The terms he made with Monk, who commanded in Scotland, were highly honourable to himself. He would give no oath and no assurance but his word of honour. His clan should be allowed to carry their arms as before. The name of Cromwell, whom he detested as a usurper, was not to be referred to. Rather than acknowledge him, he would remain an outlaw and fugitive all his days. He and his clan were to lay down their arms, in the name of Charles II., to the governor of Inverlochy, and take them up again immediately in the name of the States. These terms and others most favourable to Lochiel, and most creditable to the generosity of Monk, were accepted. A great banquet crowned the surrender at Inverlochy, and peace reigned between the Camerons and the Sassenach.

In 1660 Monk made his famous march to London, which led to the Restoration of Charles II. Lochiel, whom he held in great honour, rode by his side. He was received by the king with marked favour, and his exploits were the talk of the town. During one of his frequent attendances at Court, the following strange incident is said to have occurred: The chief went into a barber's shop to get his hair and his beard dressed, and when the razor was passing over his throat, the

chatty barber observed, "You are from the North, sir." "Yes," said Lochiel, "I am. Do you know people from the North?" "No," replied the barber, "nor do I wish to; they are savages there. Would you believe it, sir, one of them tore the throat out of my father with his teeth, and I only wish I had the fellow's throat as near me as I have yours just now!" The feelings of the chief may be imagined. It is said he never entered a barber's shop again.

The restoration of the king was received with joy throughout the Highlands, and the northern capital abandoned itself to festivity. Races were held, at which most of the Inverness-shire chiefs were present. Grants, Mackintoshes, Frasers, and Macdonalds mingled together in the utmost cordiality. The gratitude of the king towards those who had stood by him in his adversity was supposed to be unbounded, though it cannot be said he did much to show it. Glengarry, however, received a peerage, with the title of Macdonnell and Aros; and, to please the clans, the fortresses which Cromwell had erected to keep them in subjection were ordered to be razed to the ground. The key of that of Inverlochy and its buildings was given to Lochiel, and the great citadel at Inverness was utterly demolished.

"This of Inverness," observes the minister of Kirkhill in 1661, "had not stood ten years. I was an eyewitness of the last stone that was broken of this famous citadel, as I was also witness of the foundation-stone laid." He tells, also, "how the Commonwealth arms were pulled down and broken, and the king's arms set up in their place; the Blue Bridge slighted, the sally-port broken, the magazine-house steeple broken, and the great bell taken down. All this done with demonstrations of joy and gladness, the soldiers shouting 'God save the King!' as men weary of the yoke and slavery of usurpation which lay so long about their necks.

A rare thing fell out here that was notarly known to a thousand spectators, that the Commonwealth's arms set above the most conspicuous gate of the citadel, a great *thistle* growing out above it covered the whole carved work and arms so as not a bit of it could be seen, to the admiration of the beholders. This was a presage that the Scots should therefore eclipse."

The English troops left Inverness with regret. A few of them, however, settled in the town, where their descendants still remain. "Never people left a place," says the minister, "with such reluctance. It was sad to see and hear their sighs and tears, pale faces and embraces, at their parting farewell from that town, and no wonder: they had peace and plenty for ten years in it; they made that place happy, and it made them so. The citadel was slighted, and all the country called in to raze it. I saw it founded. I saw it flourish. I saw it in its glory and grandeur, and now in its ruins. 'Sic transit gloria mundi.'"

There can be no doubt that the soldiers of Cromwell exercised a civilising influence in the North, as throughout Scotland. According to Dr Johnson, they first taught the people of Inverness to make shoes and plant kail, and to speak the English language with elegance. Some of their own letters speak hopefully of their religious influence on the Highlanders, and describe how the latter listened to their preachers, of whom there were many in every regiment, and testified their approbation by their "groans." Even the Royalist minister of Kirkhill grows eloquent as he writes of all they did for Inverness: "They brought such stores of all wares and conveniences to Inverness that English cloth was sold near as cheap as in England. The pint of claret went for one shilling. They set up an apothecary's shop, with a druggist; they not only civilised, but enriched

the place." One thing they certainly did, beyond all doubt—they kept the Highlanders in order, and repressed with strong hands those clan feuds and robberies which form so great a part of northern history, and which at their departure broke out with the old violence. Like hounds let loose from the leash, the robbers in every glen sprang to their old work. It would be tedious to tell of their doings: how reavers from Glengarry carried away cattle from the Laird of Grant's tenants; how caterans from the Clan Maclean in the dead of night lifted cows belonging to The Chisholm, and drove them into Badenoch; how the great barnyards of Culcabock, belonging to Inshes, were all set on fire — "it made such a dreadful flame as put Inverness into a consternation"—how Glenmoriston seized the Laird of Inshes and conveyed him to his glen, where he kept him a prisoner for nearly two months.

Incidents like these were common all over the county after the departure of the Englishmen; but one terrible deed, which was followed by a vengeance as terrible, we must mention. The young chief of Keppoch and his brother Ronald were sent abroad for their education, and during their absence the management of the clan and estates devolved on certain cousins, as their nearest relations. On the return of the young men to their home, a feast was given in their honour, and at this feast they were barbarously murdered by their treacherous relatives. The bard of the clan, Ian Lom, was deeply affected by their fate, and denounced their assassins with all the power of his muse. His poetry glows with fire. He used also his personal influence to bring the murderers to justice, and went from one castle to another crying for vengeance. His efforts after a time were successful. The Government authorised Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat to punish the criminals. Guided by Ian

Lom, the son of this chief made an incursion by night into Lochaber, and surprised the assassins, seven in number, in their beds. They were at once executed. Their heads were cut off, packed in a creel, and carried on a man's back; and next morning at dawn they were laid at the feet of Lord Macdonnell of Glengarry. Near the entrance to Invergarry Castle is a well where the heads were washed before being presented to the chief. This well is called to this day "The Well of the Seven Heads"; and above it stands a monument bearing an inscription, which, in Gaelic, English, Latin, and French, tells of this act of retribution, and calls on the passer-by to draw near and read a story of the justice of the Eternal God.

Two clan feuds, one of which ended peacefully, the other of which was closed in bloodshed, may here be briefly noticed. During upwards of three hundred years the Mackintoshes again and again put forward their claims to the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig, and during the same period the Camerons stoutly defended their possession of them with the sword. After the restoration of the king, the claims of The Mackintosh were strenuously pressed in the Scottish Parliament, the courts of law, and the Privy Council. The king did all he could to help his old friend Lochiel, and there were protracted negotiations, which came to nothing. In 1665 The Mackintosh determined to make a descent on Lochaber, and wrest by force the disputed lands from Lochiel. With 1500 men he entered in September his enemy's country. Lochiel mustered his clan, which, with some friendly neighbours, numbered in all a force of 1200, 300 of whom were bowmen, to meet his foe. There was every prospect of a fierce conflict. The Mackintoshes and their allies were on the north side of Arkaig Water; the Camerons guarded the ford on the other side; happily, by

the mediation of the Earl of Breadalbane, bloodshed was at the last moment prevented. Lochiel offered to purchase the disputed lands for a certain sum, and Mackintosh accepted his offer. "The combatants drank together and exchanged swords, rejoicing in the extinction of the ancient feud." The feud had indeed been an ancient one. As we have already shown, it probably led to the battle on the Inch of Perth in the reign of King Robert III. During subsequent years it was like a smouldering fire, leaping again and again into flame. Tradition asserts that, during three centuries and a half, a Mackintosh and a Cameron had never spoken together. That is doubtless an exaggeration; but it serves to show how fierce was the enmity between the two clans, handed down from father to son with all the persistence of an Italian vendetta.

The other feud closed the list of the clan battles, and on that account may be interesting to the reader, who has been told of so many.

The lands of Glenroy and Glenspean had been conferred on the Mackintoshes by an undoubted charter. They were held by the Macdonalds of Keppoch, who declined to acknowledge what they termed the "sheepskin title" of the other clan. In 1688 Mackintosh, with 1000 men, which included a party of regular soldiers from Inverness, acting with the sanction of the Privy Council, marched against his foe. The chief of Keppoch was well known throughout the Highlands by the name of "Col of the Cows"—a name given him on account of his skill in tracking and recovering stolen cattle. He had every reason to detest The Mackintosh, for while he was a student at the University of St Andrews, that chief had caused him to be imprisoned in the common tolbooth of Inverness, when he had gone north to attend his father's funeral. He had been liberated by an order of the Privy Council, but the insult had not been forgotten. With

all the men he could muster, and aided by his kinsmen of Glengarry and Glencoe, and a party of Camerons, he awaited with fierce joy the approach of his antagonist. At a place called Mulroy the two forces came into collision. A hand-to-hand conflict took place, in which the Macdonalds were victorious.

A certain Donald MacBane, who had been an apprentice to a tobacco-spinner in Inverness, and who had enlisted in the army, gives an amusing but graphic description of the fight, at which he was present: "We were no sooner in order but there appears double of the number of the Macdonalds, which made us then to fear the worst; at least, for my part, I repeated my former wish [that he had been spinning tobacco in Inverness]. The Macdonalds came down the hill upon us without either shoe, stocking, or bonnet on their head: they gave a shout, and then the fight began on both sides, and continued a hot dispute for an hour. Then they broke in upon us with their sword and target and Lochaber axes, which obliged us to give way. Seeing my captain sore wounded, and a great many more with their heads lying cloven on every side, I was sadly affrighted, never having seen the like before. A Highlandman attacked me with sword and targe, and cut my wooden-handled bayonet out of the muzzle of my gun. I then clubbed my gun and gave him a stroke with it, which made the butt-end to fly off. Seeing the Highlandmen come fast upon me, I took to my heels and ran thirty miles before I looked behind me. Every person I saw or met I took him for my enemy."

The slaughter was great. The visitor to Lochaber can still trace the graves that lie thick on the field of battle. The banner of the Mackintosh was only saved by the standard-bearer leaping over a chasm where no one dared to follow. The chief himself fell into Keppoch's hands, and, it is said,

was compelled to yield his title to the disputed land. When the captive heard the shouts of the Macdonalds welcoming the "Lord of Keppoch," he said, "You are as far from being Lord of Keppoch at this moment as you have been all your life." "Never mind," answered the victor, "we'll enjoy the good weather while it lasts." The bard of the conqueror celebrated the victory in triumphant strains, telling how the Macdonalds, like brave dogs, held at the mountain-cats and took the mewing out of their nose, regardless of their sharp claws. And the last of the clan battles, equal in ferocity to any of the innumerable ones that preceded it, is still commemorated by the well-known pibroch, "Macdonald took the Brae on them."

It may be mentioned here, for we have had no opportunity of previously doing so, that in 1661 the county of Inverness assumed its present geographical area. In that year it was disjoined from Ross-shire. Caithness had been dissevered from it in 1617, and Sutherland in 1633.

CHAPTER VIII.

INVERNESS-SHIRE DURING THE WARS OF VISCOUNT DUNDEE—"GREAT JOHN OF THE BATTLES"—TAKES UP ARMS IN FAVOUR OF JAMES VII.—COMES TO INVERNESS—FINDS THE TOWN BESIEGED BY KEPPOCH—"COL OF THE COWS"—HIS INTERVIEW WITH THAT FREEBOOTER—APPOINTS A GENERAL MUSTER OF THE CLANS—HIS MARCH THROUGH INVERNESS-SHIRE TO DALMACOMER—GATHERING OF THE CLANS—STRIKING PICTURES OF THE CHIEFS IN THE "GRÆMIAD"—GLENGARRY, KEPPOCH, LOCHIEL—THE CAMPAIGN IN BADENOCH AGAINST GENERAL MACKAY—DUNDEE AT MOY IN LOCHABER—THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE AND DEATH OF DUNDEE—THE INEFFECTUAL STRUGGLE OF THE CHIEFS ON THE SIDE OF THE KING—THE HAUGHS OF CROMDALE—MACKAY ERECTS FORT WILLIAM—THE CHIEFS SUBMIT TO GOVERNMENT—KEPPOCH AND GLENGARRY NARROWLY ESCAPE THE FATE OF GLENCOE—THE COUNTY AGAIN PEACEFUL—DEATH OF LOCHIEL.

THE form of Church government in Scotland during the reign of Charles II. was Episcopacy. In this the Inverness-shire people seem to have acquiesced. While many in the South regarded it as abomination, and resisted it to the death, within the bounds of our county there was very little religious dissension to speak of. In Ross and Moray there were Covenanters and conventicles, but in Inverness-shire the only outstanding man who uplifted his testimony against the established order of things was a Mr M'Bean, one of the ministers of the burgh. He seems to have had a certain following among the townsmen, but his career as a "schismatic" was a short one. He was firmly dealt with by his brethren and his bishop, and was finally judicially deposed by

the Privy Council at Edinburgh—the last case of deposition under Episcopacy. It was sufficient justification to the Highlanders in their support of Episcopacy that it was the religion the king wished established. What the king wished must be right.

"A Highland Host," as we know, supported Dundee, or Claverhouse, in his endeavours to put down the Covenanters, and returned to their native wilds with great plunder, taken from the Westland Whigs. By the Highlanders Dundee was regarded, not as the "bloody Claverse," who was supposed to be in league with the devil, and whose hands were imbrued in the blood of the saints, but as "*Ian mor nan Cath*," "great John of the Battles," the brave general and loyal servant of the king. When Dundee, after the revolution which drove James VII. from his throne, took up arms in favour of the deposed monarch, and against the Prince of Orange, he found the Inverness-shire clans as ready to follow him as they had been to follow Montrose.

The first note of the new "rising" was struck at Inverness on Sunday the 28th April 1689. Macdonald of Keppoch with 800 men appeared before the northern capital and threatened it with destruction. This chief, the famous "Col of the Cows" already mentioned, had been chosen by some of the neighbouring chiefs to meet Dundee and conduct him to Lochaber. He readily undertook to discharge this duty, the more so that it gave him an opportunity of gratifying his love of plunder. He came up accordingly from Lochaber, through the lands of The Mackintosh, which he thoroughly harried—Mackintosh was the enemy whom he had previously defeated at Mulroy—and then advanced to Inverness, the garrison of which had assisted Mackintosh. The authorities of the town were not altogether unprepared for his coming. They had organised a guard of the inhabitants for their pro-

tection; and a body of 300 well-armed and resolute citizens, under chosen captains, mustered in defence of their homes.

During the whole of the Sunday on which Keppoch appeared before the town they stood under arms, ready to resist any attempt he might make to effect an entrance. The ministers preached that morning at the cross, "all the citizens being necessitated to stand in a posture of defiance." It was a trying Sabbath for the burghers, but it passed off without any attack being made. The next two days Keppoch spent before the town, threatening to come in and burn it, but afraid to venture. He then demanded a ransom of 2000 dollars.

. At this juncture, when everything pointed to a severe conflict, Dundee appeared on the scene, and the whole aspect of things changed. There was no longer any question of burning the town. The citizens agreed to pay 1000 dollars, and it is said Dundee gave his word to pay 1000 more on the king's return to his own, as the town had not proclaimed the Prince of Orange. The money was collected in the burgh, and the marauder ceased his threatening.

Dundee, who with some eighty troopers had reached Inverness from the South, was greatly pleased to find the Highlanders in arms, and wished at once to lead them southward to meet the revolutionary troops, who were in pursuit of him. Keppoch was received with cheers by the troopers, but he was in no way disposed to join them. "Col of the Cows" was more anxious to secure his plunder than to aid Dundee. Some of his men, he said, were Camerons, and could not march south without the express leave of their master. "The king of thieves," says one who was present, "basely debated the matter to and fro, and framed excuses for delay. He then marched rapidly his claymores to the mountains, driving before him great herds of cattle, robbing villages and dwellings as he went, and pillaging the

poorest cottages; and then, having wrapped all in flames behind him, he retired to the hills and hid himself among the rocks of his inaccessible mountains. It was a bitter disappointment to Dundee."

The writer whom we have quoted was standard-bearer to Dundee, and accompanied him throughout his Highland campaign. In an epic poem called the "Græmiad," and written in Latin, he details the achievements of his commander. We follow him in his description of Dundee's movements, for it is full of interesting local touches. The reader will make all allowance for his poetic flights.

Dundee, leaving Inverness, proceeded westward, hoping to be more successful with the other chiefs than he had been with the mercenary Keppoch. "He passed through Stratherrick, his horses scrambling over pathless mountains white with perpetual frost, to where, surrounded by its gloomy marshes, stands the castle of Invergarry crowning its lofty rock. From thence, retracing his steps by the same route, beset with vast and horrid crags, he passes on and halts at the kirk of Kilchumin." From this place, now Fort Augustus, Dundee went by the Pass of Corryarrick to the Spey, and halted at the farm of Presmukerach, on the river Truim. Here he rested for a day and wrote letters to such of the Highland chiefs as were on his side, appointing a general meeting of the clans to take place in Lochaber about the 18th May. He then went southward by Dalwhinnie and Athole, made a successful raid on Perth, and an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Dundee. He returned to Inverness-shire by Loch Rannoch, and followed the track which leads from Kinloch Rannoch to Loch Treig, past Corrour, and so on to Lochaber.

The journey is graphically described by his poetic standard-bearer, and any one who has ever made it either on foot or

by railway will recognise the truthfulness of the picture he draws of his march across the northern extremity of the wild Moor of Rannoch: "He led his troops through mountains, forcing his way by plain and rock and cliff, by sweltering bog and gully. Many of the wearied horses sink into the marsh and are lost in its depth. Failing to raise them, the riders place the saddles on their own shoulders and pursue their way on foot. I myself, having lost my horse, have to tramp by rugged path and hill and rock and river. At length, by stream and marsh and quaking bog, by forest blocked with uprooted trees, by precipice and mountain-height, we reach Loch Treig, and there fix our lofty camp. Though the glories of spring were clothing the Lowlands, we have to tear our limbs from our frozen couches, and our hair and beards are stiff with ice. We pursue our way through regions condemned to perpetual frost, and never trodden before by the foot of man or horse. By mountains rising above the airy flight of birds and cliffs towering to the sky, by devious paths among the time-worn rocks, our march unlocks the iron bolts of Nature. Hannibal with less labour clave his way by vinegar and flame across the lofty Alps. Here no smoke, no sign of human dwelling appears, but only the lair of the wild beast and a chaos of mountain, wood, and sky. Here the sun itself scarce darts a ray. At last our march is ended, and Dundee plants his foot on level ground, and presses with his heel the level bank as he crosses the deep waters of Glenroy. Gladly Lochaber receives the Grahame into her bosom."

Dundee seems to have rested, after his arduous march, for some days near what is now Roy Bridge, awaiting the general muster of the clans, and sending out the fiery cross in every direction. The poetic soldier gives a vivid description of Lochaber. In its desolation it appeared to himself and his

comrades to be the end of the world. "The horses," he says, "were sent over the plain to swell as best they might their famished flanks with the prickly shoots of the surrounding bushes. Leaving their huts white with hoar-frost, the men speed on foot through the woods and climb the steeps of the cloud-capped hills to view the surrounding region. There Keppoch extends towards the south, and Corpach to the Irish Sea, while here Ben Nevis towers aloft, raising her massive summit to the sky. Beneath their eyes is seen the lake [Loch Laggan] which pours its waters into the Spean, and the great waters of the Gloy and the sounding streams of the Roy as they flow to the sea by separate mouths. Here too they behold Lochaber parting the north wind with its frozen ridges and expanding its wild fields. Cliff rises above cliff, and the deep-lying straths are bathed in soft light. Wherever they turn, mountain and rock and river and lake, dense thickets of bramble and thorn, with here and there a peasant's cot, meet the eye. The ground beneath their feet is hard with frost, the air is freezing with the keen north wind, and the whole region is a wilderness of briar, thistle, and heather, while snow covers the mountains and ice the rivers. 'Alas!' they cry, 'to what unknown land has our fate carried us, to what uncongenial clime? 'Mid wood and rock and desert we wander in regions of eternal snow. Lochaber is surely the extremity of the earth. When and where shall these labours cease, this unfortunate journey end?'"

While Dundee and his troopers were awaiting the great muster of the clans, and his poet was describing the wild scenery of Lochaber, the enemy he was to encounter was not altogether inactive. The Revolutionist army was under the command of Major-General Mackay of Scourie in Sutherlandshire. He was a soldier of fortune, and had had considerable

experience in Continental warfare. He arrived at Inverness between the 8th and 10th of May, a few days after Dundee had left the town. On his arrival he commenced to fortify the burgh, which he describes as an open country town. He remained there a fortnight, and before he left had the satisfaction of seeing the town transformed into a sort of fortified camp. He ordered Colonel Ramsay to come north with 600 chosen men of the three Dutch regiments in Scotland, and arranged to join him at Ruthven in Badenoch on the 26th May. Early on the morning of that day Mackay left Inverness to keep his appointment with Ramsay; but before he got half-way to Badenoch he met an express from Ruthven with the news that Dundee was in Badenoch within ten or twelve miles of Ruthven, and that Ramsay, fearing to encounter him, had fallen back on Perth.

On the day that Mackay left Inverness, Dundee had arrived in Badenoch at the head of a large Highland army. While the former had been fortifying the town, the latter had been gathering the clans. His summons to the Highlanders had been largely responded to, and from every part of the West, even from far-off islands in the Hebrides, the chiefs and their men came to the place of meeting—a place called Dalmacomer in Lochiel's country. It is beside the Falls of Macomer, and close to Gairlochy, near the south end of Loch Lochy. The traveller from Inverness by steamer passes within sight of the field, which on that day in early summer must have presented an animated appearance. Many of the great chiefs of Inverness-shire were present. The Mackintoshes and the Frasers absented themselves, and Grant was a strong supporter of King William. The Macphersons were in sympathy with Dundee, but would not march without an order from their superior, the Duke of Gordon. As they had not received this, they took no

decided part in the campaign. But Keppoch, Lochiel, Clanranald, and others were there in full Celtic pomp, with banners waving and pipes playing. The poet on whose personal reminiscences we have already largely drawn, pictures the scene on what he terms "Dalcomera's plain" in glowing language. His descriptions of some of those present are photographic, and we venture to give a few of them here.

"First from his northern shores the brave Glengarry leads 300 illustrious youths in the first flower of vigorous manhood, each of whom a tartan garb covers, woven with Phrygian skill in triple stripe, and as a garment clothes their broad chests and flanks. A helmet defends the temples of the head. A coloured plaid veils their shoulders, and otherwise they are naked. The chief himself, mounted on a foaming steed and towering in glittering arms, advances into the plain claymore in hand, his cloak shining with gold, and a broad baldric with buckled clasp crossing his left breast. Following him closely comes his brother Allan the brave, with a hundred men all clothed in garments interwoven with the red stripe, their brawny calves bound with the red buskins. Afar they bristle with spears, and they stand firm with sword belted round their loins, with shields strengthened with brazen knobs protecting their bodies."

After describing M'Ian of Glencoe and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, the poet turns to Keppoch. The conduct of "The King of Thieves" at Inverness has apparently been condoned by his appearance in full strength at "Dalcomera," and indeed he seems to have made with his followers a gallant show.

"His head is covered with a helmet, he flourishes his two-handled sword, and his shield flashes as with love of war he comes wildly on. Two hundred men of fierce aspect are gathered around him, to whom life in arms alone is pleasing,

and to drive the new booty is a delight: these carry the hand-axe with keen point, and others the gleaming javelin, and the knotty club. Others again show in their right hand the spear, in their left the shield, and the brazen gun thunders in the heads of them all with loud report."

Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel—he had been knighted by James VII.—is next portrayed. His dark Spanish countenance, of which tradition tells, is noticed. He was now sixty years of age, but full of vigour. He brought 1000 men to the muster, and was throughout the campaign the principal adviser of Dundee. He was accompanied by Sir Alexander Drummond of Balhaldy, who had married his eldest daughter.

"Here now Sir Ewen Cameron, a hero of martial fame, coming from the distant shores of the northern waters, carried with him to the field 1000 men, whom, a warlike offspring, rugged Abria nourishes, chiefs unconquered in war whom it ever delights to lift the recent prey and to apply themselves to robbery. He himself, stiff in brazen armour, rises high above his axe-bearing line, and on each side of him a faithful guard of kinsmen and clansmen is gathered. With him goes his son-in-law Balhaldy. The Cameron chief himself, mounted on a grey horse, shines in a tri-coloured tunic trimmed all round with gold lace. A helmet covers his head; to his side is girt a double-edged brand; blood-red plumes float on his crest. A cuirass of leather harder than adamant girds his breast, and on his left arm hangs his shield. His tartan hose are gartered around his calf, mail covers his shoulders, and a brazen plate his back. All his trappings are rigid with solid brass and throw back to the clouds the reflected light. His very look so fierce might fright the boldest foe. His savage glance and the swarthy view of his Spanish countenance, his flashing eyes, his head, with moustache curled as the moon's horn or as the handle of the tongs, might terrify the bands of

the half-human Sycambrians. In like arms his eldest son accompanied him in the first flower of peerless youth. He, the ornament of his race and guardian of his father's clan, has accustomed himself to bear the hard service of the camp, and holds the place in command second to his father."

Other leaders are portrayed with equal care, but the descriptions are too long to quote in full. "Macmartin rising high above the whole line, his dark locks hang around his face and cover his cheeks, and his eyes shine like the stars." "Stalwart Glendessary." "Fraser of Foyers, sprung from the Fraser clan, than whom there was none more illustrious in northern land nor any excelling him in arms." "Fraser of Culduthel, surrounded by the flower of his warriors, all stiff with brass and shining with steel and gold." "The valiant Grant, not that degenerate Grant who takes his name from Bala Castle, but the bold Grant of Urquhart, bearing unstained honour in a faithful breast, and keen against the foes of the Cæsar." "The exalted captain of Clanranald in the first flower of his age, glowing from his youthful studies, showing the preludes of a mind great beyond his years. While scarce the first down tints his cheek, he, fired with a great love of his country's glory, moved keenly to battle with his whole race. He bears along, rushing into the fight, races whom the Black Isle [Uist] has sent, those whom Knoydart and Moidart nourish in their vast fields."

A large force streamed out of the field of Dalmacomer, taking the road by Glen Roy to Badenoch. "The pipers struck up the pibroch, and the clarion and bugles sounded. The army, brilliant with the varied weapons of Lochaber, move the standard while the pipe resounds, and the whole force in marching order advances into the surrounding country. The bold Glengarry, as leader of the first line, marches in the van, accompanied by thirty horse in due order. Then the rest of

the chiefs advanced each in his own station and followed by his own people. Swift Foyers following with his marshalled clan brought up smartly the rear, and now the tartaned host had poured itself out upon the fields, and forced its way through rocks and rivers, and had left behind the confines of Glen Roy and the lofty mountains of Garviemore. Now it is over the Spey and is holding the open country."

The campaign now entered upon cannot be regarded as in any way brilliant. Mackay after leaving Inverness went first to Culnakyle and Belcastle or Castle Grant, and from that base of operation extended his lines up Speyside until he was within a few miles of Dundee, who was encamped at the old castle of Raitts, near the present site of Belville. The poet speaks of Mackay as "encamped at the kirk of chilly Alvie" in a position difficult to attack. "In his front lay a wooden bridge of vast timbers, in his rear was a ditch of rolling water, a burn protected his right, and the woods his left." Here he remained strongly intrenched, and resisting the taunts of the enemy to come out and give him battle. His position was a very difficult one. In addition to the paucity of his forces he had to contend with treachery in his camp. Some of his officers were so uncertain in their allegiance that they had to be closely watched. Two of his troopers were detected carrying information to Dundee. Had not the discovery of their treachery been made, Mackay's army would have been surrounded and probably cut to pieces.

Dundee, if in less embarrassed circumstances than his opponent, was able to do very little. Keppoch and his clan captured and burnt the castle of Ruthven, which was garrisoned by a detachment under the command of a brother of Forbes of Culloden. Keppoch also distinguished himself by burning the old castle of The Mackintosh, called Dunachton, near Loch Insh. This was pleasant work for the

Lochaber freebooter. "Keppoch," says our poet, "after he had destroyed Ruthven Castle, having returned with great pomp to this house, fired it, urged by the spur of revenge and the love of plunder, and reduced it to ashes. The flocks, the ravished wealth of the burnt houses, oxen, and the common booty of the fields, were carried off. Nor was our general able to restrain the violence of this savage soldier from breaking out and wrapping the whole district in flames." From the plundered Mackintosh we learn that Keppoch carried away "all the portable goods, worth at least 40,000 merks, and the whole tenants and possessors thereof were forced to flee, and are now with their wives and children begging their bread and living on charity." It is to the credit of Dundee that he was extremely angry with his marauding follower, and told him in the presence of all his officers that he would rather serve as a common soldier among disciplined troops than command such men as he, who seemed to make it his business to draw the odium of the country upon him. The chief made a very humble apology and promised not to repeat his conduct. He had, however, secured his plunder, and the cattle of The Mackintosh were by that time far on their way to Lochaber.

Mackay, afraid of treachery among his troops, and hearing that Dundee was moving towards him, determined to retreat. Starting at nightfall, he went down the river Spey by Ballindalloch, closely followed by Dundee. In Banffshire he received an accession to his numbers, and turned upon Dundee, who retreated before him into Badenoch. Then the marching and counter-marching ended. Dundee went back to Lochaber to wait for additional reinforcements from Ireland. Mackay, afraid to follow him through the mountain-passes, sent part of his troops to Inverness, Elgin, and Strathbogie, and went himself south to raise additional troops and to

press upon the authorities the necessity of building a fort at Inverlochy.

In Lochaber Dundee took up his abode at Moy, a house on the banks of the Lochy, and there waited the arrival of the soldiers from Ireland. When they came he was bitterly disappointed. They only numbered 500 men, poorly armed, ill-clothed, and badly disciplined. He did the best he could for them in the circumstances, and after a short time marched them south by Dalwhinie, accompanied by 1800 Highlanders. On the 27th July 1689 the famous battle of Killiecrankie was fought, when victory for King James was dearly purchased by the death of Dundee.

It does not fall within our provinoe to describe the battle of Killiecrankie, or, as it is always called by the Highlanders, the battle of Rinroy. We may say, however, that the Inverness-shire chiefs greatly distinguished themselves, and many traditions of their prowess have been handed down, and are still repeated within the bounds of our county.

Lochiel was supposed by the Highlanders to possess the gift of second-sight, and before the battle he is reported to have said, "That side will win which first sheds blood." The Laird of Glenmoriston—Ian-a-chragain, as he was called—who heard the words spoken, repeated them to a famous deer-stalker from his glen, and pointed out to him an officer mounted on a white steed who had galloped forward from the lines of the enemy to survey the ground. The hunter crept forward, took deliberate aim, and the officer fell to the ground. There was no longer any doubt among the Highlanders as to how the battle was likely to go.

The chief of the Camerons himself, who wore shoes—probably, as it has been suggested, the only pair possessed by the clan—not being able to keep up with his men as they rushed onward, sat down by the way, cut off his shoes,

and then bounded forward, charging barefoot at the head of his men. One of his sons was a captain in the Scots Fusiliers, serving in the army of King William. As Mackay saw the Highlanders approaching he turned to young Cameron and said, "There's your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with them?" "It matters little," was the reply, "what I would like; but I advise you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer you before night than you would like." One of the Grants of Glenurquhart having been knocked down by a ball which came against his target, rose again with the remark, "Och! sure the Boddachs [old boys] are in earnest," and rushed on with the rest. Another man from the same part of Inverness-shire specially distinguished himself by passing his sword through from the left shoulder to the right loin of a Hessian officer.

Glengarry was prominent in the fray. He wielded a ponderous two-handed sword, with which it is said he killed two men at every step he took. Sixteen gentlemen of his clan were slain, and among them his son Donald Gorm. It is reported that this youth killed, before he himself fell, eighteen of the enemy with his own sword, and all within such a space "as it would have required a lippy of lint-seed to sow." Many such tales as these are still related of the prowess of Inverness-shire men at Killiecrankie.

The importance, however, of a victory, by whatever acts of individual bravery it may be distinguished, can only be estimated by its results, and the battle of Killiecrankie, instead of advancing the cause of King James, in reality gave it its death-blow. The loss of Dundee was irreparable. There was no one on his own side fit to take his place. He understood the Highlanders, and they understood him. He adapted himself to their manners and prejudices, and still more to their

peculiar mode of warfare. It is said he used to walk on foot with the common men, sometimes with those of one clan and sometimes with those of another. He amused them with his humour. He showed his familiarity with their genealogies. He was acquainted with their traditions and the songs of their bards. King James himself rightly estimated his loss when he wrote that it gave him a fresh occasion of adoring Providence and contemplating the instability of human affairs when one single shot from a routed and flying enemy decided to all appearance the fate of more than one kingdom.

General Cannon, who took the command on the death of Dundee, was entirely unfitted for the position to which he was called. He mismanaged everything. His Highland followers melted away. Lochiel returned home, and Cannon soon followed him to Lochaber, where he remained for the winter. At a council of war held at Keppoch many of the chiefs proposed to submit to King William. Lochiel stood alone in opposing them. "I am an old man," he said, "yet I am determined to spend the remainder of my life after my old manner, among mountains and caves, rather than give up my conscience and honour by submission, let the terms be ever so inviting, until I have my master's permission to do so. No argument or view of interest or of safety shall prevail with me to change this resolution, whatever may be the event." The result of Lochiel's determination was another effort for the royal cause under General Buchan, whom King James sent over from Ireland. Unfortunately Buchan was as incompetent as his predecessor, and his attempt ended in failure. On 30th April 1690 he encamped with a body of 1200 men on the Haughs of Cromdale, on the banks of the Spey. The spot was singularly ill-chosen, being quite open to attack. Sir Thomas Livingstone, an able and experienced

officer, came down from Inverness to Strathspey in search of Buchan, and on arriving in that district received information from the captain of Castle Grant of the position Buchan had taken up. The Highlanders were reposing in fancied security near Lethendy, and Livingstone could see plainly from the hill above Castle Grant the fires of their camp. They were, as General Mackay says in his Memoirs, "as if they had been led hither by the hand as an ox to the slaughter."

Livingstone having taken half an hour to refresh himself and his men after their fatiguing journey, marched them down under cover of night through the Glen of Auchinarrow to the river Spey. At a ford below Delachaple he found a detachment of 100 Highlanders guarding the passage. Leaving a party of dragoons and a few soldiers to keep them engaged, he went on with the main body of his men to another ford a mile farther down the river. This he crossed at the head of three troops of dragoons and a troop of horse, a body of his own Highlanders being in the van. When he reached the opposite bank of the Spey he found the camp of the enemy in confusion. The slumbering Highlanders started from their sleep and fled for refuge to the neighbouring hills, fighting their way across the plain. Buchan ran away bareheaded and without his coat, and Cannon escaped in his shirt. Happily for the fugitives a thick mist came down on the mountains and hid them from their pursuers, who soon gave up the chase. The Jacobites were thoroughly defeated, and the victory of their opponents has been commemorated by the beautiful Scottish ballad of "The Haughs of Cromdale," one of the few poetic efforts associated with the victories of the Whigs.

The ballad is peculiar in this, that it mixes up with the description of the battle recollections of a battle of Montrose,

and places upon the Haughs of Cromdale clans that were never there, but who had previously distinguished themselves under the famous general. There is no doubt, however, of the applicability of these verses to the defeat of Buchan :—

"We were in bed, sir, every man,
When the English host upon us cam';
A bloody battle then began
Upon the Haughs of Cromdale.

The English horse they were sae rude,
They bath'd their hoofs in Hieland blude,
But our brave clans they boldly stood
Upon the Haughs of Cromdale.

But alas, we could nae langer stay,
For ower the hills we cam' away;
And sair do we lament the day
That e'er we cam' to Cromdale."

After the battle of Cromdale any hopes of success cherished by the Highlanders rapidly vanished, and they were entirely extinguished by the defeat of King James at the battle of the Boyne. Livingstone and his dragoons at Inverness made constant excursions in the neighbourhood against those still in the field, and the chiefs who had taken up arms under Dundee being utterly dispirited retreated to their fastnesses, where they lay inactive and unable to strike a blow. Buchan with a few of his officers took refuge with Glengarry; Cannon with others retired to the Western Islands.

General Mackay now determined to execute a design which he had long entertained—namely, the erection of a fort near Inverlochy, a place that commanded the passage along the chain of lakes which now form the Caledonian Canal. He sent there some ships from Greenock laden with provisions and implements, and at the head of 3000 men he marched first into Badenoch and then down Glen Spean. He met with no resistance, and though he passed the castle of

Keppoch, the dispirited Highlanders did not venture to obstruct his progress. He reached Inverlochy on the 3rd July.

The fort he erected was on the site of that which had been occupied by the troops of Cromwell. Mackay was not satisfied with the situation, as it was overlooked by a neighbouring hill, but he could find no more eligible site. The work was carried through with great rapidity. In eleven days a wall of 20 feet was raised, with a deep fosse or ditch at its base. This was palisaded round with a *chemin couvert* and glacis, and armed with some demi-culverins from a ship of war. The whole structure was of triangular form; and in honour of the king the general named it Fort William. Having placed in it a garrison of 1000 men under Colonel Hill, he returned south unmolested, staying a few days at Ruthven in Badenoch to repair and garrison the old castle, which had been dismantled by Dundee.

The Government of King William now resolved to lay out a sum of money, said to have been £20,000, in conciliating the Jacobite chieftains. The negotiation was intrusted to the Earl of Breadalbane, who is generally allowed to have been an unprincipled man, and certainly his conduct in regard to his dealings with the chiefs lays him open to suspicion. The money disappeared and the chiefs got none of it. They had various meetings with the Earl at Achallader in Glenorchy, but no satisfactory arrangement could be come to. On one point they were determined. They would not make submission to King William until they received permission from King James. This permission the exiled king reluctantly granted, so that the chiefs were free to do what they pleased. They were not long in making up their mind. On the 29th August 1691 Government issued a proclamation promising an indemnity to every rebel who should swear the

oath of allegiance in the presence of a civil magistrate before the 1st January 1692, and threatening with the penalties of fire and sword those who held out after that day. The Inverness-shire chiefs who had taken part in the late rising hastened to take the oath. Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry were duly sworn. Lochiel was the last of the band to submit. He only received notice of King James's permission within thirty hours of the period allowed by the Act of Indemnity. On the very day on which the indemnity expired he reached Inverary and took the oath before the sheriff there; thus making a narrow escape from sharing the fate of Glencoe.

The massacre of Glencoe has left an indelible stain upon the reign of King William. Papers have come to light of late years which clearly prove that it was intended to have dealt with certain of the Inverness-shire chiefs and their people in the same fashion as Glencoe. Mr Secretary Stair was in great hopes that Glengarry and Keppoch would refuse to take the oath, and would afford the Government an excuse for the extermination of their people. "Both Glengarry and Keppoch," he writes, "are Papists, and that's the only Papist clan in the Highlands. Who knows but by God's providence they are permitted to fall into this delusion that they may be extirpate, which will vindicate their majestys' justice and reduce the Highlands without further severity to the rest." Of Glengarry the secretary was specially anxious to make an example, as his castle, lying midway between Fort William and Inverness, would make an excellent fortification to keep the country in order. On 3rd of November Stair writes: "I wrote to you formerly that if the rest were willing to concur, as the crows do, to pull down Glengarry's nest this winter, so as the king be not hindered to draw four regiments from Scotland, in that case the destroying him and his clan, and

garrisoning his house as a middle between Inverlochy and Inverness, will be full as acceptable as if he had come in. This answers all ends, and satisfies those who complain of the king's too great gentleness. . . . Because I breathe nothing but destruction to Glengarry, Tarbet thinks Keppoch will be a more proper example of severity; but he hath not a house so proper for a garrison, and he hath not been so forward to ruin himself and all the rest. But I confess both's best to be ruined."

Happily those projects of vengeance were baffled, but these letters show how nearly the tragedy of Glencoe was repeated in the valley of the Spean and by the banks of the Garry. The Inverness-shire glens were now once more peaceful, and were disturbed only by the cattle-liftings and raids which went on at all times. There was much, however, to indicate that the peace was not likely to be durable. The chiefs had taken the oath to King William, but they had done so under compulsion. Mr Secretary Stair showed considerable prescience when he wrote, "Their doing so after they got King James's allowance is worse than their obstinacy, for those who lay down arms at his command will take them up again by his warrant." The warrant was not long of coming, and the men who took the oath in 1692 were quite ready to break it without scruple in 1715.

The gallant Lochiel, who had been the mainspring of the rising under Dundee, retired into private life at its close. He made over the greater part of his estates to his son, reserving the liferent. He was alive when the clans came out again, but was infirm and stricken in years. A portraiture of this greatest of chiefs has come down to us from one who saw him in 1716, and we may give it here: "Sir Ewen's eyes retained their former vivacity, and his sight was so good in his ninetieth year that he could discern the minutest

object and read the smallest print; nor did he so much as want a tooth, which seemed as white and close as one could have imagined they were in the twentieth year of his age. In this state he was when I had the good fortune to see him, and so great was his strength at that time that he wrung some blood from the point of my fingers with a grasp of his hand. He was of the largest size, his bones big, his countenance fresh and smooth, and he had a certain air of greatness about him which struck the beholders with awe and respect. He enjoyed perfect health from the cradle to the grave, and not a drop of his blood was ever drawn except on one occasion when a knife had accidentally pierced his foot."

Sir Ewen died in 1718. His gift of second-sight is said to have remained with him to the last, and when in 1715 the Chevalier St George landed at Peterhead, he is reported to have called aloud from his bed that his king had arrived and that his own son was with him, and ordered his clan together that they might drink his majesty's health.

The limits of this work have not allowed us to do full justice to the character and exploits of Lochiel, but in the old annals of Inverness-shire he certainly stands out as the most noble as well as the most picturesque figure, and the best specimen of a Highland chief, which the county has produced.

CHAPTER IX.

INVERNESS-SHIRE AGAIN DISTURBED—DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE—PROCLAMATION OF KING GEORGE AT INVERNESS—THE CHIEFS PROMISE TO SUPPORT THE KING, BUT TAKE PART IN THE RISING OF THE EARL OF MAR—"OLD BORLUM"—FAILURE OF THE RISING IN 1715—PUNISHMENT OF THE CHIEFS WHO TOOK PART—GENERAL WADE RECEIVES SUBMISSIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT—HUMBLE LETTERS ADDRESSED TO HIM—CLEMENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT—MEASURES ADOPTED BY WADE—BUILDING OF BARRACKS—DISARMING OF THE CLANS—EMBODIMENT OF COMPANIES OF LOYAL HIGHLANDERS—ERECTION OF FORT AUGUSTUS—CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY—FEATS OF ENGINEERING—WEAKNESS OF GENERAL WADE'S POLICY—ESTABLISHMENT OF "WATCHES"—MACDONALD OF BARISDALE—INVERNESS-SHIRE QUIET, BUT READY FOR INSURRECTION.

DURING the last years of the reign of Queen Anne it became evident that some new movement was on foot among the Inverness-shire Jacobites. There were secret meetings among the chiefs, and gatherings of their retainers in complete warlike array which had no ostensible or legitimate aim. At huntings and funerals of outstanding men in the county there were armed demonstrations at which many clans mustered. The Tory Ministry of Queen Anne were believed to be scheming to bring in the Stewarts in succession to her Majesty. The queen herself was well known to cherish feelings of the warmest sympathy towards the exiled family. Large sums of money were distributed by the Government among the Highland clans, who were to be ready, when the proper moment arrived, to come out in full strength in sup-

port of the cause to which they had shown themselves in past years so deeply attached.

As an evidence of how firmly they were assured of the coming triumph of their aspirations, the priests of the Roman Catholic Church, who had hitherto received no toleration, began in the North to exercise publicly the functions of their office. They came out from their hiding-places, assumed the dress of their profession, opened schools, and said mass among the people without let or hindrance. They defied alike the fulminations of the presbytery and the persecution of the civil magistrate. "Swarms of Papists," a document of the time tells us, "came daily from France into Britain, whereof many were believed to be missionaries for propagating that which they call the Catholic faith. It appears, from the particular informations taken up and brought in to the Commission of the General Assembly by the several presbyteries of Scotland, that in some shires in the North and Highlands there were then about forty Popish priests, Jesuits and the like, in Popish orders, who were all well known, appeared openly, and were so bold as to take up their residence in these places and publicly to go about all the parts of their function." A goodly number of these Highland clergymen made their presence felt in Inverness-shire, to the great dissatisfaction of the Kirk, which implored the Government to prohibit them. In the list which the Kirk submits to the authorities there is mention of a Mr Peter Macdonald about Glengarry, a Mr Gordon about Moidart, six or seven priests in the presbytery of Skye, and some about Lochaber, and many more, who were travelling through the country, suspected to be priests and missionaries from Rome. "In the bounds of Lochaber, Glengarie, Moydart, and Arisaig, Popery daily increased to a lamentable degree, so that the priests residing in these bounds said mass publicly almost

every Lord's day to swarms of their deluded proselytes. In the parish of Kilmorrock, in the shire of Inverness, the priests who resided there had within two years or thereby perverted an hundred families to Popery: so that the Papists were the far greater part of that people." The Government turned a deaf ear to the supplications of the Kirk. The priests were suffered to work on unmolested, and the Presbyterians felt assured that there existed a secret design to tamper with the Protestant succession and place a Stewart on the throne.

Their fears were not at that time realised. Before the projects of the Jacobites were ripe, Queen Anne died suddenly, and the Elector of Hanover was duly proclaimed sovereign of the realm. It was a bitter disappointment to most of the Inverness-shire chiefs. They knew that in the high quarters where their cause had of late been secretly encouraged they must now be prepared to encounter utter hostility. They knew also that the British Court could no longer tolerate or wink at their treasonable schemes. They felt perhaps most acutely that no further secret money could come from the treasury to their impoverished glens. They were obliged, however, to submit with the best grace they could to see the throne occupied by a "wee German lairdie" rather than by a prince who inherited the blood and birthright of a long line of Scottish kings. What took place at Inverness when "King George" was proclaimed may be taken as an indication of the general feeling throughout the county. When the sheriff, Sir Robert Munro, proceeded to make the proclamation, he was openly opposed and derided by the magistrates of the burgh. They encouraged the mob to break the windows of the few Whigs who ventured to illuminate their houses. When the Hanoverian Laird of Castlehill complained of the assault upon his house they put him into

prison, and they openly in the market-place called down imprecations on the king.

The chiefs whom we have so often seen in arms for the Stewarts sympathised, doubtless, with the magistrates of the burgh. But they acted in a more politic, if not more commendable, fashion. Instead of calling down imprecations on the king, they signed a letter addressed to the Earl of Mar, through whom they had been in the habit of receiving sums of money from the Government of Queen Anne, expressing their great delight at the accession of King George, and their willingness to give all their support to his throne. Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonnell of Keppoch, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, and Macpherson of Cluny, attached their names to this precious document. "It did exceedingly comfort them," they set forth, "that after so good and great a queen as Queen Anne, they were to be governed by his Sacred Majesty King George, a prince so brightly adorned with all royal virtues." They pleased themselves with this agreeable persuasion, that his Majesty's royal and kindly influence would reach them, who were the most remote of all his subjects in these islands. They declared to Lord Mar that as they were always ready to fulfil his directions in following Queen Anne, so they would now be equally forward to concur with him in faithfully serving King George. They concluded their letter by entreating his lordship to advise them how they may best offer their duty to his Majesty upon his coming over to Britain, and be most useful to his royal Government.

Nothing could have been more deceitful than this famous letter, with its expressions of attachment to a sovereign whom those who signed it heartily detested. It is supposed by some that Mar obtained it from them in order to forward his own interests with the new king. It is

conjectured by others that it was written in order to put the Government off their guard, that they might carry on their plots with less prospect of being interfered with. Under any supposition it was a discreditable and hypocritical production, and met with the fate it deserved. King George paid no attention either to their letter or to Mar when he presented it, and that nobleman, after keeping up for a time a show of loyalty at Whitehall, left the Court secretly and in disguise for the Highlands, to raise the standard of rebellion with the aid of those very chiefs who a few weeks previous had been so profuse in professing their allegiance to "the Hanoverian," and so earnest in desiring to know how they might be most useful to his Government.

The new rising of the clans began at Braemar. Many Jacobites of importance had gathered there on pretence of holding one of those great hunting-meetings which were common in the Highlands. Glengarry was there to represent the Inverness-shire clans. Whether any deer were slain we do not know, but there was much treason talked, and the upshot of the proceedings was the raising of the standard of the Chevalier as King James VIII. on the 3rd September 1715, and the march of an army southward under the Earl of Mar.

The Inverness-shire clans who had taken part in the rising under Dundee cast in their fortunes with the new enterprise, and joined the headquarters of the Earl of Mar at Perth. Glengarry brought with him 500 men, Keppoch 300, Clanranald 500, Grant of Glenmoriston 100, and John Cameron of Lochiel nearly 1000. Clanranald, the chief of Moidart, who when a youth had taken up arms with Dundee, was a soldier of renown. At the close of Dundee's insurrection, and after the submission of the chiefs to King

William, he had gone abroad, and had seen much service in the French army. His military experience and his knowledge of Mar's incapacity as a general led him to take a gloomy view of the result of the new undertaking. When he left his ancient stronghold of Castle Tirrim he gave secret instructions to one of his followers who remained at home to set the place on fire immediately on his departure. "I shall never," he said, "come back again, and it is better that our old family seat should be given to the flames than forced to give shelter to those who are about to triumph over our ruin." With this sad presentiment he turned his face southward. By the time he reached Glenfinnan the castle was in flames, and became the gaunt and melancholy ruin with which those who have visited Moidart are familiar, and which forms so striking and weird a feature in the beautiful landscape.

In addition to the Inverness-shire clans we have named, there were others that now took the same side, though on the last occasion they had been inactive. Chisholm of Strathglass, Cluny Macpherson, and the Laird of Mackintosh, each brought a contingent into the field. That of the last named amounted to 1000 men. On the side of the Government were Lord Lovat and the Laird of Grant; but the greater portion of the Fraser clan went with Mar.

The Mackintoshes, who generally on these occasions showed an inclination to stay at home, were induced to take arms by the persuasion of one of their kinsmen, William Mackintosh, younger of Borlum, Inverness-shire. He was a most conspicuous figure in the new enterprise. "Old Borlum," as he was generally called, had been a soldier of fortune, and had attained distinction in the French service. He was employed for some years as an agent between the chiefs and the exiled royal family, and now took the

position of brigadier in the army of Mar. He was described in a proclamation by the Government as "a tall raw-boned man, fair-complexioned, beetle-browed, grey-eyed, and speaking broad Scotch," and is generally supposed to have been a somewhat rough-handed and unscrupulous soldier. But he did his duty well; and had the command of the army been intrusted to him instead of the incompetent general by whom it was directed, the issue of the campaign might have been different.

We are not called upon to describe this campaign, except in so far as it affected Inverness-shire. It began in that county. On the 15th September the Laird of Mackintosh convened his men at Farr as if he intended to review them, but on the evening of that day he marched to Inverness, where he came at sunrise with banners displayed. From the Jacobite town he met with no resistance. He made himself master of all the arms and ammunition he could find, and of some money belonging to the Government. He then formally proclaimed King James, and placed a garrison in the castle.

From Inverness Mackintosh proceeded to the house of Culloden, and demanded all the arms and ammunition that were in it. Mrs Forbes, the wife of the laird, who was from home, made a gallant resistance. She refused the demand made upon her, and put her house in a state of defence. Some of her friends interfered on her behalf, and Mackintosh went off with his brigade to join Mar at Perth. This brigade was probably the best equipped body of men in the rebel army, and distinguished itself on many occasions.

Glengarry and the Laird of Glenmoriston, with 500 men, went westward into Argyleshire, in hopes of seizing Inverary. Their effort was unsuccessful, and they also went south to join the main army.

At the battle of Sheriffmuir victory was claimed by both

parties. The engagement was long remembered in Inverness-shire, for it was marked by the death of young Clanranald. He died fighting bravely at the head of his clan. The fall of their chief almost paralysed his followers, who wavered for a moment as if about to retreat, when Glengarry rushed up to them, waving his bonnet in the air and crying, "Revenge! revenge! to-day, and mourning to-morrow!" Then placing himself in the position occupied by the fallen chief, he led them on with such fury that the opposing columns were compelled to fly

The day on which the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought was marked also by the defeat of the army which, under Mackintosh of Borlum, had gone south into England, and by the retaking of the castle of Inverness. Simon Fraser, afterwards better known as Lord Lovat, had appeared in his own district, and found that while the main body of his clan had followed their legal head, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, to the army of Mar, no fewer than 300 men, capable of bearing arms, remained at home. With that cunning by which he was always distinguished, he felt that by supporting King George he might become the recognised chief of the clan. He mustered the 300 available men, and sent a message to those of the clan in the South to return at once to their native glen, threatening them with all pains and penalties should they refuse at once to do so. The command of him whom they regarded as their true chief was at once obeyed. They deserted the camp of Mar and came home. With the whole strength of the Fraser clan, and assisted by the Forbeses, the Roses of Kilravock, and part of the Clan Grant, Lovat proceeded to besiege Inverness. Ere, however, his plans for the siege were completed, the terrified garrison took to flight and crossed the Moray Firth to the opposite shore.

The rising of "the Fifteen," as it is always called in the North, speedily came to an end, notwithstanding the appearance of the Chevalier himself on the scene. It was from the first to the last an ill-managed enterprise. The exclamation of one of the chieftains at Sheriffmuir tells not only of the incompetency of their leader, but of what might have been if a different man had held the command. "Oh!" he cried, "for an hour of Dundee!" There was certainly entirely wanting anything of the spirit, the ability, and the chivalry which characterised the campaign of that born leader of men. "The Fifteen" was throughout a mean and sordid affair. Beginning in hypocrisy, impotent in its conceptions, and ending in utter failure, its character is only partially redeemed by the beautiful poetry in which it is commemorated, for with "the '45" it has its place in Jacobite song.

Many of those who took part in the rising were severely dealt with. Those who were made prisoners in England were tried there. Some were executed, others sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and many were shipped off as slaves to the American plantations. The Inverness-shire chiefs came off better than might have been expected. Glengarry was pardoned, on the ground that he left the rebel forces at an early period of the insurrection. Mackintosh, after a short imprisonment, was liberated on the intercession of his wife, "who made it plain that he was trepanned into rebellion by the craft of the brigadier." John Cameron of Lochiel fled to France, whence he never came back. He had made but a poor figure as a soldier, and the clan which had been led by Sir Ewen his father, and had fought under Montrose and Dundee, regarded him with contempt. Grant of Glenmoriston and Chisholm were declared traitors, and their estates were forfeited to the Crown. Keppoch took himself into hiding, and probably was the only one who reaped any benefit from

the rising. While it was in progress he went across to Glenurquhart, and returned home with a rich booty. "Col of the Cows" maintained his character to the last.

The Government derived but little benefit from the forfeited estates. The commissioners who were appointed to collect the rents of such estates as those of The Chisholm and Grant of Glenmoriston were able to show but little for their trouble. The properties they found so burdened with debts and settlements of various kinds that they were able to extract only "fractional proportions" of their value. Occasionally they found that the tenants paid regularly their rents to the old laird, while they had nothing for King George. In certain instances rent was paid both to the king and the chief.

On one occasion, under a military escort, two Ross-shire Whigs came to Invermoriston, and afterwards to Strathglass, with power from Government to gather in the rents of these estates. They held courts and gave judgment against defaulters, but they added very little to their treasury. On their way from Strathglass to Kintail, as they passed through beautiful Glen Affric, they were set upon by 300 men, headed by Donald Murchison, factor for Seaforth, and aided by the son of the chief of Glenmoriston and his followers. The emissaries of the Government were forced to beat a retreat, leaving their commission in Donald's hands. One of them and his son were wounded, the latter so severely that he died of his injuries. The royal factorage of the forfeited estates proved a failure. They were finally put up for sale, and through the good services of friends purchased and restored to their former owners.

When General Wade took command of the royal forces in Scotland, he had power given him to receive the submission of persons attainted of high treason, and several of them came to him for this purpose. "They laid down their swords on

the ground," the general reports to King George, "expressed their sorrow and concern for having made use of them in opposition to your Majesty, and promised a peaceful and dutiful obedience for the remainder of their lives. They afterwards sent me their letters of submission, copies of which I transmitted to your Majesty's principal Secretary of State. I made use of the proper arguments to convince them of their past folly and rashness, and gave them hopes of obtaining pardon from your Majesty's gracious and merciful disposition."

Very humble and full of contrition were the letters which the chiefs sent in to the general. "I presume," wrote The Chisholm, "to throw myself under your protection, fully confident that so much goodness cannot decline representing my unhappy case to the best of kings,—I meant rebellion, which I now detest; and, sir, I hope that my repentance will be judged the more solid that I am now in a mature age; whereas I had not attained to the years of manhood when unnaturally I allowed myself to be led to bear arms against his Majesty King George." "As none of those who were unhappily engaged in that unaccountable rebellion," pled the Laird of Glenmoriston, "was more innocently seduced by others to go into it than myself, so do I sincerely assure your Excellency that no man is more sorry for his foolish error than I am, and if his Majesty will be so good as to give me his gracious pardon, I shall while I live behave myself as a dutiful subject to King George and his royal family. I do, therefore, most humbly throw myself at his Majesty's feet, imploring his mercy, and humbly entreat of your Excellency (who seem resolved to do good to all that will serve the king faithfully) to obtain my pardon of his Majesty; and I do sincerely promise that I shall pass the remainder of my days in peace and fidelity towards his Majesty and the

Government." These were abject professions to come from the bold "Ian a Chragain" (John of the Rock), whose life had been passed in fighting for the Stewarts. He had distinguished himself at Killiecrankie, and had long refused to submit to King William. He had done great deeds at Sheriffmuir. But his house had been burnt, and he had lived for some time in a cave in his own glen. He was now an old man, and trial had somewhat tamed his spirit. It is creditable to Wade that through his intercession the chiefs who submitted themselves to the king received a free pardon, and the Laird of Glenmoriston passed the evening of his days in peace.

"Old Borlum," who was one of the outstanding men in the rising, had surrendered himself to the English at Preston, and was conducted to London in a kind of triumphal procession with other prisoners, pinioned and bound as if they were criminals of the vilest kind. Borlum, however, found means of evading his trial. With fifteen of his fellow-prisoners he broke out of Newgate, knocking down and disarming the warders. Seven of those who escaped were retaken, but the brigadier was more fortunate. He made his way out of the country to France. He was soon back in the Highlands, where he found a refuge among the Jacobite clans. He took part in the engagement at Glenshiel, when some Spanish troops who attempted an invasion under Seaforth were defeated. After wandering some time about Inverness-shire he was captured, and confined in the castle of Edinburgh. In this prison he spent the rest of his life, beguiling his time by writing a treatise on agriculture entitled, 'An Essay on Ways and Means for Inclosing, Fallowing, Planting, &c., Scotland.' After a captivity of nearly a quarter of a century the old warrior died in prison at the age of eighty, true to the last to his Jacobite principles.

The Government of King George, upon the whole, showed great clemency to those who had been engaged on the Jacobite side, and their conduct towards the Highlanders contrasts favourably with the measures adopted by the authorities after '45. "The Fifteen" was followed by no atrocities similar to those perpetrated by the Government after Culloden, and the rule of General Wade was mild compared with that of the Duke of Cumberland. One thing, however, the Government were determined to do, and that was to put it out of the power of the Highlanders to give them trouble again. The measures they adopted were suggested by General Wade, who was advised by one who knew Inverness-shire well, and who was perhaps the most distinguished man it has produced, Forbes of Culloden.

Barracks were built at Kilchumin, Ruthven, and Glenelg, and in other parts of the North, and garrisoned by regular troops. An Act was passed by Parliament in 1716 for disarming the Highlanders, who were commanded to deliver up all the arms in their possession, for which they were to receive payment from the collectors of taxes. These measures, however, produced no effect. The regular troops, ignorant of the country and its inhabitants, were found useless in the wild and inaccessible places where they were planted, while the Highlanders delivered up no arms except such as were unfit for service. They obtained, to their great joy, large prices for old broadswords and rusty firelocks. They found, indeed, the arrangement so profitable that they imported from Holland great quantities of broken and useless arms, for which they demanded and obtained exorbitant sums. Wade states that the king paid nearly £13,000 for broken and useless arms that were hardly worth the expense of carriage.

In 1725 General Wade reported to the Government that it

was necessary that more effectual measures should be taken, or he could not be responsible for what might happen. His recommendations were certainly extremely wise. He advised the Government that companies of such Highlanders as were loyal to the king should be established under proper regulations, commanded by officers speaking the language of the country, subject to martial law, and under the orders and inspection of the governors of Fort William, Inverness, and the officer commanding the king's forces in those parts. These companies were to be employed in disarming the Highlanders, preventing depredations, bringing criminals to justice, and hindering rebels and attainted persons from inhabiting that part of the country.

By September 1725 the companies recommended by the general were embodied. They formed a body of armed police similar to what is now the Royal Constabulary of Ireland. Lord Lovat's company was posted to guard all the passes in the mountains from the Isle of Skye eastwards as far as Inverness; the company of Colonel Grant occupied the several passes from Inverness southward to Dunkeld; Sir Duncan Campbell's company those from Dunkeld westward as far as the country of Lorn. Three companies commanded by lieutenants were posted, the first at Fort William, the second at Kilchumin, and the third at Ruthven in Badenoch.

The instructions given to the officers commanding these companies were very definite, and calculated to be effectual in carrying out the purpose for which they were embodied. "The passes of Strathlony, Glenniffen, Guisachan, Glenstrathfarrar, the braes of Urquhart, Stratherrick, and Strathnairn," were to be specially guarded. Information was to be gathered of all robberies and depredations. Cattle and other stolen property were to be recovered and returned to their proper owners, and the criminals to be seized in order to their

being prosecuted. Information was also to be obtained of the names, haunts, and retreats of all robbers and outlaws, and of any arms or warlike weapons that might be concealed by persons belonging to the clans who were summoned to deliver up their arms. Priests were to be specially looked after by these new guardians of the peace. They were to endeavour to detect all such persons who may have been sent from foreign parts, or others who were employed to infect the minds of the people with the pernicious principles of Popery and disaffection, or to seduce his Majesty's subjects from their allegiance; and when they found any such dangerous persons, they were to bring them before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in order to their being prosecuted as the law directs. These and other instructions given to the Highland companies show how determined General Wade was to bridle and restrain the restless clans.

With the aid of the new police, the general now proceeded to disarm the people in a more effective way than had hitherto been done. In every parish proclamation was made to the clans by the general in his Majesty's name to the following effect: "I do hereby strictly require and command you and every one of you in —— to bring or send to —— all your broadswords, targets, poynards, whingars, or durks, side pistol or pistols, guns, or any warlike weapons, and then and there to deliver up to me or the officer commanding all and singular your arms and warlike weapons, for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors." This imperative command was in the main obeyed. The general reports regarding the chiefs of Inverness-shire, that "the arms of the several clans of the Macdonalds of Glengary, Macleods of Glenelg, Chisholms of Strathglass, and Grants of Glenmoriston were surrendered to me at the barrack of Killjhuimen the fifteenth of September; and those of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, Moidart, Arisaig,

and Glenco, as also the Camerons and Stewarts of Appin, were delivered to the governor of Fort William. The M'Intoshes were summoned, and brought in their arms to Inverness, and the followers of the Duke of Gordon, with the clan of Macphersons, to the barrack of Ruthven." The general adds that "the number of arms collected this year in the Highlands amounted to 2685. At the time they were brought in there was a mixture of good and bad, but the damage they received in the carriage, and growing rusty by being exposed to rain, they were of little more worth than the value of the iron." In the opinion of Wade the disarming of the people was complete, and "instead of durks, swords, guns, and pistols, they now travel to their churches, markets, and fairs with only a staff in their hands." Probably he took a more hopeful view of his operation than he was entitled to. Certainly he had not swept Inverness-shire so bare of weapons as he imagined. Twenty years afterwards dirks, broadswords, and guns were plentiful enough among those whom he represents as reduced to the use of their staffs.

The general constructed a fort at Kilchumin, close to Loch Ness, which he named Fort Augustus. It had accommodation for four companies of soldiers, and a line of communication with the old barracks, which were able to accommodate six companies. He also repaired the old castle of Inverness, erecting it into a citadel, with a governor's house, magazine, and chapel, and barracks to accommodate 800 troops. This citadel he named Fort George.

Upon Loch Ness he placed a vessel of about thirty tons, which was named the Highland Galley. She carried six or eight "patteroes," and was employed to transport men, provisions, and baggage from Inverness to Fort Augustus. Cromwell's soldiers, as we have seen, sailed a vessel on Loch Ness, but she was built at Inverness and transported overland. That

of Wade was built on the banks of the lake. "When she made her first trip she was mightily adorned with colours, and fired her guns several times, which was a strange sight to the Highlanders, who had never seen the like before."

But more than any other measure which General Wade adopted for the pacification of the Highlands, the making of roads through the country was the most successful. These will always be connected with his name. Some of them are in use to this day, and others can be easily traced. These highways were regarded as among the greatest engineering works of the time. They are commemorated in the well-known couplet, said to have been composed by General Cauldfield, an Irish soldier in command of Fort George :—

> "Had you seen these roads before they were made,
> You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade!"

Before the General's time there was no road in Inverness-shire. There were merely rough tracks through the mountains, which could be traversed only with difficulty by men on horseback. They were well known, and are still used as drove-roads along which cattle are driven to the southern markets. It is wonderful how Montrose, Monk, Dundee, and Mackay were able to find their way through the mountains, and to transport from place to place great numbers of men, both foot and cavalry, with baggage and camp equipage. Artillery they were unable to employ in their campaigns. By the construction of the new roads this difficulty was overcome.

General Wade's purpose was to penetrate the fastnesses of the Highlands by the construction of two great lines of communication. The main and direct line extended from the fortress of Stirling by Crieff to Dalnacardoch, crossing the Tay at Aberfeldy by a bridge of five arches. A branch line took a more easterly direction, extending from Perth by Dunkeld to

Dalnacardoch. The united line then crossed the mountain summit to Dalwhinnie, along the track now followed by the Highland Railway. At Dalwhinnie the road branched off in two directions. One branch went down the valley of the Spey, and by way of Kingussie and Carrbridge to Inverness. The other turned off to the left and reached Fort Augustus by Garviemore and over the steep sides of Corryarrick.

The second main line of road was on the west coast. Commencing on the south at Loch Lomond, it passed on by Dalmally, Tyndrum, and through Glencoe and Ballachulish to Fort William. From Fort William a road was made crossing the Spean at High Bridge, keeping along the southern shore of Loch Lochy and Loch Oich to Fort Augustus, and thence along the Stratherrick side of Loch Ness to Inverness.

These roads were begun in 1726, and their construction was carried on for eleven years, in which time two hundred and fifty miles were made. Five hundred soldiers from the Highland companies and other regiments took part in the work. The privates were allowed 6d. a-day above their pay, the corporals 8d., and the sergeants 1s. Officers were allowed 2s. 6d. a-day for extraordinary expense and maintenance.

The standard breadth of the roads was 16 feet, but in some places they were wider. Being constructed for military purposes, no attention was paid to the matter of gradient. They ran on in straight lines up hill and down dale. When any eminence was met with, the road went up one side and down the other. If the hill was too steep to be dealt with in this way, the road was carried up by a series of zigzags to the summit, and by a similar arrangement to the base on the other side.

The difficulties which the engineers who constructed these highways had to overcome must have been very great. The

work was frequently interrupted for months together by the severity of the weather. Spongy moors had to be made firm, precipices to be blasted, great boulders to be removed, rushing torrents to be bridged, and trenches made to receive and carry off the rains and melting snows. In a letter written by Mr Burt at the time of their construction, a very vivid description is given of the obstacles that had to be surmounted by the workmen. The writer tells us that when the road along Loch Ness was made, "the miners hung by ropes from the precipice over the water (like Shakespeare's gatherers of samphire from Dover cliffs) to bore the stone in order to blow away a necessary part from the face of it, and the rest likewise was chiefly done by gunpowder; but where any part was fit to be left as it was, being flat and smooth, it was brought to a roughness proper for a stay to the feet, and in this part, and all the rest of the road where the precipices were like to give horror or uneasiness to such as might pass over them in carriages, though at a good distance from them, they are secured on the lake-side by walls either left in the working or built up with stone to a height proportioned to the occasion."

Along the edge of Loch Oich, the writer says, "the rocks project over the lake, and the path was so rugged and narrow that the Highlanders were obliged for their safety to hold by the rocks and shrubs as they passed, with the prospect of death beneath them. In many places the rocks were so steep and uneven that the passenger was obliged to creep on his hands and on his knees." To make a roadway in such a place was no easy task, and the writer takes great pride in the work carried out in the face of such difficulties. "The roads on these moors," he says, "are now as smooth as Constitution Hill, and I have galloped on some of them for miles together in great tranquillity, which was heightened by reflec-

tion on my former fatigue, when for a great part of the way I had been obliged to quit my horse, it being too dangerous or impracticable to ride, and even hazardous to pass on foot."

He tells an amusing story of the wonder with which the natives of Inverness-shire regarded the feats of the engineers: "The first design of removing a vast fallen piece of rock was entertained by the country people with great derision, of which I saw one instance myself. A very old wrinkled Highland woman upon such an occasion, standing over against me when the soldiers were fixing their engines, seemed to sneer at it, and said something to an officer of one of the Highland companies. I imagined she was making a jest of the undertaking, and asked the officer what she said. 'I will tell you her words,' said he. '"What are the fools a-doing? That stone will lie there for ever, for all of them"'; but when she saw that vast bulk begin to rise, though by slow degrees, she set up a hideous Irish yell, took to her heels, ran up the side of a hill just by like a young girl, and never looked behind her while she was within our sight. I make no doubt she thought it was magic and the workmen warlocks."

According to this writer, the chiefs of Inverness-shire and their followers regarded the making of the roads with considerable dissatisfaction. Probably what he says is much exaggerated, but it may be taken as a whole to exhibit the general opinion of the people of the county at the time in regard to those improvements:—

"Those chiefs and other gentlemen complain that thereby an easy passage is opened into their country for strangers, who in time, by their suggestions of liberty, will destroy or weaken that attachment of their vassals which it is so necessary for them to support and preserve. That their fastnesses being laid open, they are deprived of that security from invasion which they formerly enjoyed.

"That the bridges in particular will render the ordinary people effeminate and less fit to pass the waters in other places where there are none.

"The middling order say the roads are to them an inconvenience instead of being useful, as they have turned them out of their old ways; for their horses being never shod, the gravel would soon whet away their hoofs, so as to render them unserviceable; whereas the rocks and moor-stones, though together they make a rough way, yet considered separately, they are generally pretty smooth on the surface where they tread, and the heath is always easy to the feet. . . .

"The lowest class, who many of them at some times cannot compass a pair of shoes for themselves, allege that the gravel is intolerable for their naked feet; and the complaint has extended to their thin brogues. It is true they do sometimes for these reasons go without the road, and ride or walk in very incommodious ways. But why do the black cattle do the same thing? Certainly for the ease of their feet."

General Wade had now carried out his programme for the subjugation and opening up of the Highlands, and especially of our county. He had disarmed the people, built forts, and made roads. He had established in the very heart of the unruly clans bodies of disciplined soldiers, speaking the language and wearing the dress of the country, and trained to mountain warfare. He had put down depredation and robbery. There had only been, he states in his final report, but one single instance where cattle had been stolen without being recovered and returned to their proper owners. The general was a strong man, and had done wonderful things. Another rising seemed to be out of the question. Dissatisfaction there was, indeed, on the part of the people and their leaders. But they could only grumble and submit.

The weakness of the general's policy—though for that he

may not have been responsible—was that it was only a policy of repression. Nothing was done for the enlightenment of the inhabitants, nothing to ameliorate the hard conditions of their lives, nothing to establish bonds of affection and gratitude between them and the Government. They were treated with contempt as a conquered people, and kept down by the strong hand. When that hand was removed they were ready to return to their old courses.

In the year 1740 the Highland companies which Wade had embodied and planted in detachments throughout the county were disbanded, and the garrisons were occupied by small parties of soldiers drawn from the regular army. No reason was given for this step. It certainly was the most foolish possible that the Government could have taken. Cattle-lifting and robbery began whenever the military police were withdrawn, and the last state of Inverness-shire was worse than the first.

In Badenoch and along Speyside farms were regularly harried by freebooters from Lochaber and Argyle. So great was the evil that at the request of the tacksmen of the country Ewen Macpherson of Cluny established a "watch" or band of men for their protection and to guard the passes. These "watches" were common over the county. In general they levied blackmail, receiving sums of money from people for giving them protection, while they robbed and stole from those who did not pay this tax. There is no reason whatever for supposing Cluny to have been a blackmailer, for he is said to have been "much out of pocket by his generous undertaking." Others who commanded "watches" were not so particular.

Macdonald of Barasdale, in the west of Inverness-shire, "a gentleman of polished behaviour, fine address, and fine person," and a cadet of the family of Glengarry, was a close imitator of the famous Rob Roy. He is said to have carried

out the art of plunder to the highest pitch of perfection. "Besides exerting all the common practices, he imposed that article of commerce they called blackmail to a degree beyond what was ever known by his predecessors." He forced an extensive neighbourhood to pay him a very considerable sum yearly for their protection, and raised an income of £500 a-year by this tax. "He behaved with genuine humour in restoring on proper consideration the stolen cattle to his friends. He observed a strict fidelity towards his own gang, and yet was indefatigable in bringing to justice any rogues that interfered with his own. He considered himself in a very high light, as a benefactor to the public and preserver of general tranquillity."

Such was the lawless and disordered state to which the county was reduced after the disbandment of the Highland companies. Matters went back very much to what they were before "the Fifteen." Emissaries from the Court of the Stewarts came across the water to visit the chiefs and spy the land. Boxes of arms were secretly conveyed into the country by the ships which brought wine and other commodities from the Continent. The clans became as well armed as they were ever before. The Government had relaxed their vigilance, and they paid the penalty. The eve of 1745 found Inverness-shire ripe for insurrection, and the chiefs as ready as they had ever been to engage in any desperate venture that came their way.

CHAPTER X.

SOCIAL STATE OF INVERNESS-SHIRE BEFORE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—SOURCES OF INFORMATION—REPORTS OF LOVAT AND OF GENERAL WADE—BURT'S LETTERS—THE TOWN OF INVERNESS—ITS BUILDINGS AND CONDITION—DESCRIPTIONS OF MACKEY AND BURT—FORT WILLIAM—THE CHIEFS, THE TACKSMEN, AND THE COMMON PEOPLE—THEIR MODE OF LIFE—HOUSES, CUSTOMS, AMUSEMENTS, AND POSITION GENERALLY—CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE PERIOD ILLUSTRATED BY LIFE OF LORD LOVAT—THE LEADING MAN IN THE COUNTY.

We may pause at this stage of our narrative to take a slight survey of the state of Inverness-shire socially and otherwise before the great event which so completely changed the condition of its inhabitants. We have reached the dividing line between the old and the new. On the one side is the clan system, with all its influences for good or evil; on the other we have the beginning of that state of things which exists to-day. The difference between the Inverness-shire of 1745 and that of 1897 is very marked. Except that the physical features remain the same, there is hardly any resemblance between them. The character of the people, manners, modes of living, education, personal freedom, are all changed. Not more marked is the contrast between the old and crumbling ruin of Castle Urquhart on Loch Ness and the noble mansion in its neighbourhood, or between the railway that passes through the wilds of Badenoch and those mountain-tracks which the passenger sees as he is

borne swiftly along, on which clansmen drove their raided cattle, and Montrose and Dundee led their Highland followers.

We are not without considerable material to enable us to form some idea at least of how men lived in Inverness-shire in the olden time, and up to the eve of the collapse of the feudal system. Well-authenticated reports from competent persons as to the state of the Highlands generally, and Inverness-shire in particular, have come down to us. Such are those of Lord Lovat, General Wade, and others. There are incidents recorded in the clan histories, and inserted in the almost continuous record of battle and robbery, which shed considerable light on social conditions. And there are also the narratives of such travellers as at that early period visited Inverness-shire. They were not numerous, and their references to what went on at the time were sparse. One of them, however, Mr Burt (or Birt), has in his 'Letters from the North'[1] given his impressions with considerable fulness. In these Letters he makes such mistakes as an Englishman transported suddenly from London to Inverness would naturally be led into, and perhaps also he shows traces of a desire to astonish his correspondent by telling him things calculated to shock and amaze him. But on the whole there is no reason to doubt the general truthfulness of his descriptions, or to deter us from believing them, especially when established by evidence from other sources. Burt wrote his Letters about 1725-26, though they were not published till long afterwards. He was employed by General Wade in some civil capacity, either as a surveyor or accountant. He resided chiefly in the town of Inverness,

[1] Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London, containing an account of the Highlands, with the customs and manners of the Highlanders.

but he appears to have travelled from time to time in outlying parts of the county.

Guided by the sources of information which we have referred to, and such others as are available, we begin our sketch of Inverness-shire in the olden time by putting on record anything we can glean about its capital, the burgh of Inverness.[1]

Inverness at the period of which we are writing was a town of between 2000 and 3000 inhabitants. The number of houses in the burgh was probably between 400 and 500. In the centre of the town was the cross, which stood on the Exchange. Here converged four streets—East Street to the east, Bridge Street to the west, Castle Street to the south, and Kirk Street to the north. East Street extended from the cross to the Eastgate, while Bridge Street was its continuation westwards to the river. Castle Street, which then as now ran along the escarpment on the east side of the Castlehill, did not run quite so far south as it now does; while Kirk Street practically ended at the parish church. At the chapel-yard were the butts, where the citizens congregated with their arms in times of danger, or for inspection and exercise. Still farther to the north was the pier and what remained of the disused and partially dismantled fort of Oliver Cromwell. At the foot of Bridge Street the river Ness was spanned by a handsome stone bridge. On the west side of the river was a scattered hamlet of humble dwellings, which formed part of the burgh though they could hardly be said to be in it.

Of public buildings there were very few. The principal was the Castle, which stood on the site of the present building. It had been put in good repair and had been strongly fortified by General Wade, and commanded the town and the bridge

[1] I am much indebted to a description by Mr K. M'Donald, the present town-clerk of the burgh.

over the Ness, the only bridge leading from the southern to the northern side of the Great Glen. Next in importance was the parish church, which stood on the present site. In its session-house the council met once a-year to elect magistrates—a ceremony which was, according to what was described as the ancient and laudable custom of the burgh, preceded by "prayer and supplication to God for a blessing on the work." A carpet was solemnly carried to the session-house on this important day in each year, that the city fathers might have a draped floor while performing the important duty of electing their provost, bailies, treasurer, and dean of guild for the ensuing year. When the ceremony was over, the carpet was as solemnly carried back to its ordinary resting-place, wherever that might be.

Near the cross, at the top of Bridge Street and Kirk Street, was the tolbooth, comprising the court-house and gaol. At the ground-level under the tolbooth stair were two shops. The tolbooth had a steeple with bells and a clock. The steeple was taken down and rebuilt in 1691, part at least of the cost being met out of money collected to buy off Coll Macdonald of Keppoch when he threatened the town. The kind of building the tolbooth was may be gathered from the fact that it had no chimney until the steeple was rebuilt.

At the bridge end up to 1709 was the Laigh Council House, where the ordinary meetings of the council were held, and where the town clerk resided, or at all events had his offices. In that year the town purchased for 2700 merks a house called Lord Lovat's, and on the site so acquired a new town-house was built at a cost of 10,000 merks. The council then as now numbered twenty-one. Once in each year five of them retired, and the remaining sixteen proceeded to elect the council for the following year—usually electing themselves and the bulk

of the retiring five as well. On rare occasion after a national crisis the whole council was dismissed by the Crown, or ceased to exist by neglecting to re-elect itself on the proper day. Then a new council had to be elected by a poll of the burgesses.

For the size of the town its trade was considerable. The greater part of the ground between Church Street and Academy Street was covered with malt-kilns and barns. A large and important business was done in malting. The privilege of engaging in this business was confined to guild brethren. The malt was sold to the people of the surrounding districts and paid for in hides, in the tanning and export of which another large section of the trade of the town consisted. In addition to the various branches of the building trades, and those necessary for supplying the everyday wants of the people, there were burgesses engaged in the trades of armourer and glover, which have long since ceased to be carried on in the town. Many of the merchants took part in transactions of considerable magnitude, and were men of substance. The well-known names of Cuthbert, Duff, Inglis, Robertson, and Forbes, familiar in local history, were those of Inverness merchants who acquired estates in the neighbourhood of the town, and some of whose representatives are still Inverness-shire proprietors.

At the period of "the '45" the town was considerably impoverished. The fiscal policy of the Government had inflicted serious injury on its trade. Its main industry, "malting," had declined, and other trades suffered from the consequent depression. Its import and export trade seems, on the other hand, to have kept up; for in 1738 a new quay, called the Citadel Quay, was built, which could at high tides receive vessels of 150 tons. The expense of erecting this quay was £2790, defrayed by a heavy excise on ale and

beer used in the town, the collection of which excited great dissatisfaction among the inhabitants.

In 1692 the royal burghs of Scotland were visited by instructions of "the Convention of Royal Burghs." The visitors were ordered to give "ane exact accompt" of the common good of each burgh, and how it was expended. That of Inverness amounted to £1645, 10s. 8d. Scots, and was made up from "the peck and toll money of the bridge, the weighhouse and salt measure, the flesh stocks and shambles, the anchorage and shore dues, the few-duties yearly, and what is paid to the town by the weivers." On the other hand, the disbursements of the town amounted to £3030, 15s. 8d. Scots, expended on salaries to the ministers, to the master of the grammar-school, the drummer's salary, the provost and four bailies' salaries, the executioner's salary, rent of a cellar for a meal-market, &c., the balance between the charge and discharge being raised by cess on the inhabitants of the burgh.

Mr John Mackey, whose travels through Scotland were published in 1723, and who visited the burgh probably about 1717, gives a pleasing account of Inverness. He speaks of it as "a pretty town situated at the mouth of the river Ness, which runs from a lake of that name full twenty-three miles long. There are two very good streets in this town, and the people are more polite than in most towns in Scotland; they speak as good English here as at London and with an English accent, and ever since Oliver Cromwell was here they are in their manners and dress entirely English. Here are coffee-houses and taverns as in England. Here are the ruins of an old castle, and indeed the place deserves to be well fortified, for it is one of the most considerable passes between the low country and the Highlands."

Mr Burt, who wrote after the visit of this traveller, is not

so complaisant in his remarks. He has nothing to say of the beauty of the situation of Inverness, and indeed is anything but flattering in his description of its streets and buildings. He tells how greatly Mr Mackey was held in esteem by the inhabitants for calling it the "pretty town of Inverness," and how often he had heard the words quoted by them with pleasure, but he himself is apparently determined to give no satisfaction of the same kind. We must, however, allow him to tell his own tale.

"Inverness," he tells us, "is one of the royal boroughs of Scotland, and jointly with Nairn, Forres, and Chanonry, sends a member to Parliament. The town has a military governor, and the corporation a provost and four bailies, a kind of magistrate little differing from our mayors and aldermen. Besides whom there is a dean of guild, who presides in matters of trade, and other borough offices, as in the rest of the corporate towns of the country. It is not only the head borough or county town of the shire of Inverness, which is of large extent, but generally esteemed to be the capital of the Highlands; but the natives do not call themselves Highlanders, not so much on account of their low situation as because they speak English. Yet though they speak English, there are scarce any who do not understand the Irish tongue; and it is necessary they should do so to carry on their dealings with the neighbouring country-people, for within less than a mile of the town there are few who speak any English at all."

"The bridge," he says, "is about 80 yards over, and a piece of good workmanship, consisting of seven arches, built of stone, and maintained by the toll of a *bodle*, or the sixth part of a penny, for each foot-passenger with goods, a penny for a loaded horse, &c."

He does not appear to have a great opinion of the criminal

administration of the burgh. "From the tolbooth or county gaol," he tells us, "the greatest part of the murderers and other notorious villains that have been committed since I have been here have made their escape, and I think this has manifestly proceeded from the furtherance or connivance of the keepers, or rather their keepers. When this evil has been complained of, the excuse was, the prison was a weak old building, and the town is not in a condition to keep it in repair; but, for my own part, I cannot help concluding from many circumstances that the greatest part of the escapes have been the consequence either of clan interest or of clan terror. As, for example, if one of the magistrates were a Cameron, the criminal Cameron must not suffer if the clan be desirous he should be saved."

It is not probable that any of the magistrates of Inverness would belong to the clan of Lochiel, but doubtless the peace-loving citizens had their own reasons for not offending any of the clans by which they were surrounded. Their town at this period was almost undefended, and it might be better for the magistrates to allow any captive Highlandman to effect his escape than to incur the wrath of some offended chief and his following.

The town hall he represents as "a plain building of rubble, and there is one room in it where the magistrates meet upon the town business, which would be tolerably handsome, but the walls are rough, not whitewashed or so much as plastered, and no furniture in it but a table, some bad chairs, and altogether immoderately dirty."

The merchants and other men of business met at the cross for the transaction of their affairs. "They stand in the middle of the dirty street, and are frequently interrupted in their negotiations by horses and carts, which often separate them from one another in the midst of their bargains." "Near the

extreme part of the town toward the north are two churches, one for the English and the other for the Irish tongue, both out of repair and much as clean as the other churches I have seen."

Dirt is the continual complaint of this Englishman. It meets him everywhere—in the houses, churches, streets. The last he allows to be well paved, but when he asked the magistrates one day when the dirt was almost above his shoes why they suffered the town to be so excessively dirty and did not employ the people to clean the streets, the answer was, "It will not be long before we have a shower."

The houses appear to have been built end on to the streets, with a staircase outside which led to each floor. The lowest stage of the building had a door towards the street which served for a shop or a warehouse. The suburbs of the town were made up of "most miserably low dirty hovels, faced and covered with turf, with a bottomless tub or basket in the roof for a chimney."

Of the shops, or, as they were called, warehouses, our visitor thought very little. "There is indeed," he says, "a shop up a pair of stairs which is kept by three or four merchants in partnership, and that is pretty well stored with various sorts of small goods and wares mostly from London. This shop is called by way of eminence *the* warehouse here (for the purpose). A hat which with you would cost thirteen or fourteen shillings, goes by the established name of a *guinea hat*, and other things are much in the same proportion." To call such a place a warehouse, or its proprietor a merchant, evidently gives our narrator considerable amusement. "On this side the Tweed many things are aggrandised in imitation of their ancient allies (as they call them) the French. A peddling shopkeeper that sells a pennyworth of thread is a *merchant*, the person who is sent for that thread has received a *commission*, and bringing it to the sender is making a *report*.

A bill to let you know there is a single room to be let is called a *Placard;* the doors are Ports; an enclosed field of two acres is a *Park*, and the wife of a laird of fifteen pounds a-year is a lady and treated with—Your Ladyship."

His description of the passers-by on a street of the town is graphic enough, though probably overdrawn. "In one part the poor women, maid-servants, and children, in the coldest weather, in the dirt or in the snow, either walking or standing to talk with one another, without stockings or shoes. In another place you see a man dragging along a half-starved horse, little bigger that an ass, in a cart about the size of a wheelbarrow. One part of his plaid is wrapt round his body and the rest is thrown over his shoulder, and every now and then he turns himself about to adjust his mantle when blown off by the wind or fallen by his stooping, or to thump the poor little horse with a great stick. The load in his cart, if compact, might be carried under his arm; but he must not bear any burden himself, though his wife has perhaps at the same time a greater load on her loyns than he has in his cart. I say on her loyns, for the women carry fish and other heavy burdens in the same manner as the Scots pedlars carry their packs in England. The poor men are seldom barefoot in the town, but wear brogues, a sort of pumps without heels, which keep them little more from the wet and the dirt than if they had none, but they serve to defend their feet from the gravel and stones."

The better class of the citizens, he says, were dressed in a more comfortable fashion: "The gentlemen, magistrates, merchants, and shopkeepers are dressed after the *English* manner, and make a good appearance enough according to their several ranks. Their women of fashion go seldom abroad, but when they appear they are generally well dressed in the English mode."

Inverness was the only market-town in the county. "There are four or five fairs in the year, when the Highlanders bring their commodities to market. But, good God! you could not conceive there was such misery in the island. One has under his arm a piece of coarse plaiding; these are considerable dealers. But the merchandise of the greatest part of them is of a most contemptible value, such as these—viz., two or three cheeses, of about three or four poundweight apiece; a kid, sold for sixpence or eightpence at the most; a small quantity of butter in something that looks like a bladder, and is sometimes set down in the dirt upon the street; three or four goatskins; a piece of wood for an axle-tree to one of the little carts, &c. With the produce of what each of them sells they generally buy something—viz., a horn or wooden spoon or two, a knife, a wooden platter, and suchlike necessaries for their huts, and carry home with them little or no money. You may see one eating a large onion without salt or bread, another gnawing a carrot, &c. These are rarities not to be had in their own parts of the country."

Dirt, laziness, and poverty meet our visitor in every direction he turns. Notwithstanding, however, his beggarly estimate of what he saw, there is no reason for believing Inverness was less deficient in the comforts of life than other Scottish, and even perhaps English, country towns of that period. There were, we know, men of good substance and education among its inhabitants, and there was a society into which it is evident Mr Burt was not allowed to enter. He had no military rank and no social position as a gentleman. He tells us himself that he was regarded as a spy. Perhaps, indeed, his exclusion from the hospitality of the well-to-do citizens has something to do with the contempt which he so freely expresses. But his descriptions are amusing, and the contrast between the Inverness he saw and the beautiful town of the present day cannot

but be gratifying. One thing he does allow to be worthy of praise. The Englishman was a man who evidently loved good living, and the materials for that were plentiful enough. "Salmon and trout just taken out of the river, and both very good of their kind. Partridge, grouse, hare, duck, mallard, woodcocks, snipes, &c., each in its proper season. . . . Wholesome and agreeable drink, I mean French claret, which is to be met with almost everywhere in public-houses of any note. French brandy very good, about three or four shillings a gallon. In quantities from hovering ships on the coast it has been bought for twentypence. Lemons are seldom wanting here, so that punch for those that like it is very reasonable; but few care to drink it, as thinking claret a much better liquor. The little Highland mutton when fat is delicious, and certainly the greatest luxury, and the small beef when fresh is very sweet and succulent. Mutton and beef are about a penny the pound. Salmon, which was at the same price, is by a late regulation of the magistrates raised to twopence a pound, which is thought by many to be an exorbitant price. A fowl which they call a hen may be bought for twopence or twopence-halfpenny. Pork is not common with us, but what we have is good." It is evident our writer found Inverness a good place to stay in, and the abundance of creature comforts which he describes, and their moderate cost, might well detract to some extent from the sweeping criticisms in which he so freely indulges.

There was only one other town in the county besides Inverness at this period. This was what is now the flourishing and picturesque town of Fort William. "It was erected," Burt tells us, "into a barony in favour of the governor of the fort for the time being, and into a borough bearing the name of Queen Mary. It was originally designed as a sutlery to the garrison in so barren a country, where little can be had for

the support of the troops. The houses were neither to be built with stone or brick, and are to this day composed of timber, boards, and turf. This was ordained, to the end they might the more suddenly be burnt or otherwise destroyed by order of the governor to prevent any lodgement of an enemy that might annoy the fort in case of rebellion or invasion."

The inhabitants of the county outwith the two towns of Inverness and Fort William or Maryburgh were divided into three classes—the chiefs, the tacksmen, and the common people. The chiefs were the great men of Inverness-shire. They were all men of culture and education. They had all been trained at universities either at home or abroad. They could all speak English, Gaelic, and French with equal fluency. Their character and mode of living present us with a strange combination of culture and barbarity. A man like Sir Ewen Cameron, who could take his place in the Court of the king with grace, could yet head a pack of marauders to the South and return at the tail of a drove of lifted cattle. Keppoch, who had been trained at the university of St Andrews, was chiefly celebrated for his skill in tracking stolen cows. Chiefs possessed of a great degree of personal refinement and courtesy would without scruple indulge at will in deeds of lawlessness and ferocity. They seem to us to have been by turns cultured and courtly gentlemen, and wild savages bent on rapine and bloodshed. As their power depended on the number of their followers, it was their constant object to swell the ranks of their retainers and to keep alive among them the use of arms. When an English guest asked Macdonald of Keppoch the amount of his income, his laconic reply was, "I can raise 500 men." The importance and rank of each chief depended on the number of armed followers he could lead into battle.

The fighting strength of the Inverness-shire clans has been variously estimated. Probably the account given by General Wade in his report to the king may be taken as the most accurate. Lord Lovat could command 800 men, the Laird of Grant 800, Forbes of Culloden 200, Glengarry 800, Clanranald 800, Lochiel 800, Keppoch 220, Mackintosh with the Farquharsons 800, Chisholm of Strathglass 150, the Macphersons 220.

The chiefs lived in considerable state. Each had a numerous household. A select bodyguard defended his person, and his visits were paid with much pomp and ceremony. He was accompanied by his henchman, his bard, his spokesman, his sword-bearer, the man who carried him over fords, the leader of his horse, his baggage-man, his piper and piper's attendant. Mr Burt gives an amusing account of his meeting one of these Inverness-shire magnates in one of his journeys. "On my way," he says, "I met a Highland chieftain with fourteen attendants. When we came, as the sailor says, almost broadside and broadside, he eyed me as if he would look my hat off; but as he was at home and I a stranger in the country, I thought he might have made the first overture of civility, and therefore I took little notice of him and his ragged followers. On his part he seemed to show a kind of disdain at my being so slenderly attended, with a mixture of anger that I showed him no respect before his vassals; but this might be my surmise, yet it looked very like it."

The dwellings of the chiefs had little to boast of in the way of grandeur or convenience. Some of them still resided in their square towers or castles four or five storeys high, of which we have a specimen in the old castle of Glengarry. In such a rude retreat the Lord Lovat of the period of which we are writing is said to have entertained 400 people. Most of the Inverness-shire chiefs, however, had removed from their ancient

fastnesses to houses built of stone and lime. These were, according to Mr Burt's account, "not large, except some few, yet pretty commodious."

In their homes the chiefs exercised unbounded hospitality. The provisions of life were abundant. Of butcher-meat there was ample store. His hills afforded the chief every variety of game, and his rivers abundance of fish. In an account of the housekeeping of Lord Lovat in 1590 we are told that the weekly expense of provisions in his household was seven bolls of meal, seven of malt, and one of flour. Each year seventy beeves were consumed, besides venison, fish, poultry, kid, lamb, veal, and all sorts of feathered game in profusion. The same abundance of good things existed in all the households of the Inverness-shire chiefs. Claret was both plentiful and good. It was imported from France. The consumption by Clanranald's house was twelve hogsheads a-year. In that of Culloden the libations were of the most copious description. The custom of the house was to remove the top of each successive cask of claret and place it in the corner of the hall to be emptied in pailfuls. On the occasion of a marriage or a funeral the profusion was almost unbounded. The funeral of a chief was specially an event which called together people from far and near — all were made welcome, and all were sumptuously entertained. When The Mackintosh died in 1704 the funeral feasts and entertainments were kept up for a whole month. When The Chisholm died in 1817, his body lay in state for several days in an inn in Inverness, where wines and refreshments were laid out for all visitors. A banquet was held in a granary close to Beauly Priory, where he was buried. Those of "gentle kindred" occupied the upper room, while the commons caroused in the lower storey. Claret, it is said, "ran like ditch-water," and the old women of the village brought pails to carry off the superfluous whisky, and are said

to have kept public-houses for six months afterwards on the relics of the feast. At the burial of Mrs Forbes of Culloden, her two sons and their friends drank so hard that when the company arrived at the churchyard they found they had forgotten to bring the coffin.

The government of the clan by the chief was despotic, though tempered by the patriarchal relations between him and his people. Most probably all of the Inverness-shire chiefs had hereditary powers of jurisdiction. They could try and punish offenders against the law. Courts were regularly held and presided over by a person called a bailie, whose jurisdiction was absolute. He could fine, imprison, banish, and sentence to death. The places of execution in each district of Inverness-shire can still be pointed out. The tenantry of the district were obliged to attend the court of the locality, which was conducted with much pomp and formality.

The chief, though generally remitting the administration of justice to his bailie, often exercised his power to punish without the intervention of that official. When Mr Burt complained of incivility which he had received from some members of a clan, the chief at once said that if he would give him their names he would send him their heads. A Catholic priest having mentioned to Glengarry that he had occasion to rebuke and punish a well-known thief, that chief said the punishment was not sufficient. He ordered the offender to be cast into the dungeon of his castle and starved to death, a sentence which would have been carried out but for the intercession of the clergyman. Clanranald sentenced a woman who had stolen some money in his house to be tied by the hair to the seaweed on the rocks till the tide came in and drowned her. When ships about to sail for the West Indies came to Inverness, the neighbouring chiefs sent offenders from their various districts to be transported as slaves. No power but the strong hand

could keep the people in order, and that power was freely exercised by their superiors.

When not engaged in looking after his estates and their management, the chief had other occupations. The chase was his favourite amusement. Red deer were plentiful in the hills, and other wild animals also were keenly sought for. Wolves had been at one time numerous, but were now extinct. The last seen in Scotland is said to have been killed in Lochaber by Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel in 1680, but there is a tradition that it was slain in the parish of Inverness not far from the house of Kinmylies. There is also another tradition that it was killed by a woman in Strathglass. Wild cats, foxes, and badgers still abounded. The deer were not stalked as they are now, but were driven into a limited space, where they were killed by the chief and his friends with their broadswords. Sir Ewen Cameron entertained some gentlemen, whom he had made prisoners, with a hunting after this fashion at the head of Loch Arkaig. He was met, his biographer tells us, at the head of the loch by some hundreds of men whom he had ordered to be convened for the purpose. "These people, stretching themselves in a line along the hills, soon enclosed great numbers of deer, which, having driven to a place appointed, they guarded them so closely within the circle which they had formed round them that the gentlemen had the pleasure of killing them with their broadswords, which was a diversion new and uncommon to them."

But dearer to the chief than the pleasure of the chase was the raid made on some far-off country in search of spoil. To take a prey from the Lowlands was regarded as an innocent and healthful amusement. At the period of which we are writing the chiefs seldom ventured personally to lead a foray, for the restraints of the Government were very stringent. But most of them connived at their sons and the men of their clan

engaging in the laudable pursuits of their ancestors, and shared without scruple in the proceeds of any successful venture. The Inverness-shire clans "most addicted to rapine and plunder," General Wade informs us, were the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Keppoch. They "go out," he tells us, "in parties from ten to thirty men, traverse large tracks of mountains till they arrive at the lowlands where they design to commit these depredations, which they choose to do in places distant from the glens they inhabit. They drive the stolen cattle in the night-time, and in the day remain on the tops of the mountains or in the woods with which the Highlands abound, and take the first occasion to sell them at the fairs or markets that are held annually in many parts of the country. Those who are robbed of their cattle follow them on the track, and often recover them from the robbers by compounding for a certain sum of money; but if the pursuers are in numbers superior to the thieves, and happen to seize any of them, they are seldom or never prosecuted. The encouragement and protection given by some of the chiefs of clans is reciprocally rewarded by allowing them a share in the plunder, which is sometimes one-half or two-thirds of what is stolen."

After the chiefs the class of people deemed most important in the county were the tacksmen. They were generally relations of the chief, and held, Mr Burt tells us, "pretty large farms, perhaps twenty or thirty pounds a-year, and they again generally parcel them out to under-tenants in small proportions." The tacksmen were usually at this time men of some education. They were beginning to build for themselves stone houses, but many of them lived in turf huts not much better than those inhabited by the common people.

The state of the people generally, in comparison with those of southern Scotland, was of the most miserable description. Their number greatly exceeded the means of subsistence

afforded by the lands they occupied. The author of an able pamphlet entitled 'An Enquiry into the Causes that facilitate the Use and Progress of Rebellions in Scotland' calculates that there was not at this period employment for more than one-half the number of people in the Highlands: of the remainder he says, "Many are supported by the bounty of their acquaintances and relations, others get their living by levying blackmail, and the rest gain their subsistence by stealing or robbery and committing depredations." This account may be exaggerated, but there can be no doubt of the wretched condition of the people compared with that of their more southern neighbours, though doubtless it had its alleviations. Their wants were few, from their infancy they were inured to hardship, and they were in the main treated kindly by their landlords. Eviction for non-payment of rent was unknown. Though we may pity their state, they themselves, enjoying their freedom, did not envy those dwelling beyond their glens and mountains, and would have been sorry to change places with them.

Their houses were of a very humble description. They were built of round stones without any cement, thatched with sods and sometimes heather. Generally, though not always, they were divided by a wicker partition into two apartments, in the larger of which the family lived. In the middle of this room was the fire, made of peat, over which, suspended by an iron hook, was the pot for cooking. There was seldom a chimney, and the smoke found its way out by the roof and door. The other end of the house was reserved for the cattle and poultry. A Highland town, Burt informs us, was composed of a "few huts for dwellings, with barns and stables; and both the latter are of a more diminutive size than the former; all irregularly placed some one way, some another; at any distance they look like heaps of dirt."

The family grew a little corn sufficient to yield them meal, which was their chief article of food; but they were often reduced to severe privations, and it was no uncommon thing for them in the winter season to be driven to support life by bleeding their cattle, mixing the blood with a little oatmeal, and frying the whole into a sort of cake. Their great dependence for a livelihood was not so much on their tillage as on their cattle. Great herds of black cattle roamed in the mountains. Each township had its own herd who looked after them. They had a few sheep of a small breed. Droves of horses belonging to the tacksmen and tenants were everywhere to be met with among the hills. They were hardy animals of small size, and were often allowed to run wild among the mountains till they were eight or ten years old, when they were hunted down and captured with difficulty. The people disposed of their stock to drovers, who collected their herds and drove them to markets and fairs in the Lowlands of Scotland and north of England.

Mr Burt seems to think that the people led a dull and melancholy existence: "They have no diversions to amuse them, but sit brooding over the fire till their legs and thighs are scorched to an extraordinary degree; and many have sore eyes, and some are quite blind. This long continuance in the smoke makes them almost as black as chimney-sweepers, and when the huts are not water-tight, which is often the case, the rain that comes through the roof and mixes with the sootiness of the inside, where all the sticks look like charcoal, falls in drops like ink." This seems cheerless enough, but we know that the Englishman was not correct in depicting the life of the people as dull. On the contrary, it was full of cheerfulness. When in the summer months they removed to their distant shielings, or in winter crowded round the blazing hearth, they passed their idle hours joining

in the dance and listening to the song. They recited the legendary tales that came down from a far-off past. They sang the songs of their bards. They rehearsed the brave deeds of their ancestors, and they danced long and late to the music of the pipes. The Highlander of that time was far livelier, and his life was in some respects, notwithstanding its privations, brighter and more festive, than that of the Highlander of the present day.

The liquor of the tacksmen and people was ale, as that of the chiefs was claret. But whisky was beginning to be drunk, and stills were at work in many districts, tending to the demoralisation of the people. "The buddiell or aqua vitæ houses," says a report of the time—"that is, houses where they distil and retail aquavity—are the bane and ruin of the country. These houses are everywhere, and when the price of barley is low, all of them malt and distil in great quantities." According to Mr Burt, the Highland gentlemen were immoderate drinkers of whisky, even three or four quarts at a sitting. In general the people that could pay for it drank it without moderation. In 1744 the town council of Inverness passed strong resolutions against smuggling, and against the use of tea and brandy, articles which they said had only begun to be used in this country, and threatened to destroy the health and morals of the people. The members bound themselves to discontinue the use of these extravagant and pernicious commodities.

The common dress of the people of Inverness-shire, and of the Highlands generally, has been fully described by Mr Burt. It is what he saw daily on the streets of Inverness and wherever he travelled about. "The dress consists of a bonnet made of thrum without a brim, a short coat, a waistcoat longer by five or six inches, short stockings, and brogues, or pumps without heels. Few besides gentlemen

wear the *trowse*—that is, the breeches and stockings all of one piece and drawn on together; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan and plaiding: this with the sword and pistol is called full dress, and to a well-proportioned man with any tolerable air it makes an agreeable figure. The common habit of the Highlander is far from being acceptable to the eye. With them a small part of the plaid, which is not so large as the former, is set in folds and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half-way down the thigh, and the rest is brought over the shoulder and then fastened before below the neck. The stocking rises no higher than the thick of the calf, and from the middle of the thigh to the middle of the leg is a naked space. This dress is called the quelt." Our Englishman makes remarks on this apparel which are particularly disparaging. But it is evident that no dress could have been better suited to the life the Highlanders had to lead. When they were obliged to lie out in the hills, in their hunting-parties, or in tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid served them both for bed and covering. The freedom of their limbs also enabled them to undertake long journeys and to climb the mountains much better than if they were clothed in modern apparel.

The common people of Inverness-shire were at this time almost entirely uneducated. There was a grammar-school at Inverness, but the Acts of Parliament ordaining that there should be a school in every parish had remained a dead letter. In 1709 the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands was incorporated, and a few schools were planted here and there — one at Abertarff in 1711, and one at Glenmoriston in 1726. The progress of enlightenment is slow. It was specially so in this case, where

only English was taught. It was long before any impression was made on the dark state of the county. Below the rank of tacksman there was probably no one in Inverness-shire who could sign his name or read a printed line.

We know but little of the religious character of the people. Ministers were in every parish, and kirk-sessions were active in maintaining discipline. The records of these bodies show how zealous they were in summoning offenders against morals, fining them for their shortcomings, and occasionally handing them over to the civil magistrates to be imprisoned or set in the pillory. There were only Irish Bibles used in the Highlands, and even these the people could not read. They were dependent for religious instruction on their preachers, who were few, and, it is to be feared, not of a high order.

But if religion lay light on the shoulders of the Inverness-shire man of the period, he was a firm believer in those things which are now termed superstitions. There were many in Inverness-shire at this time who were supposed to possess the mysterious gift of second-sight. Such were to be found in every parish. Witchcraft was also another article of Celtic faith. In 1690 the magistrates of Inverness applied to the Privy Council for a commission to try witches, and when Mr Burt at the table of an Inverness-shire chief ventured to argue with a minister against the probability of witchcraft being true, he was set down at once as an atheist. As late as 1704 two men were in durance at Inverness, "alleged guilty of the horrid crimes of mischievous charms by witchcraft and malefice, sorcery or necromancy." A commission, consisting of Forbes of Culloden, Rose of Kilravock, and some others, was ordered to take them on trial, and they were afterwards executed under care of the magistrates of Inverness. Fairies were still seen by the belated hunter, and every family of importance in the county had its special ghost.

Perhaps this sketch of Inverness-shire immediately before 1745 may give our readers some idea of the general state of society in the county ere everything became changed and old things passed for ever away.

We will conclude this chapter by giving a short account of one who was at this time the most prominent man in Inverness-shire. His life illustrates in many particulars the customs and manners of the period. Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, was born about 1667. He was educated at the University of Aberdeen, where he took his degree in 1683. He was an accomplished classical scholar, and intended to take up the study of civil law after leaving college. Circumstances, however, led him to change his determination, and he accepted a commission in a regiment raised in the service of William and Mary. His chief, Lord Lovat, having to go to London to be presented at Court, Simon accompanied him, and so ingratiated himself in his favour that Lovat promised to leave him all his estates in case he should die without male issue. He did die soon after, leaving his estates to Simon's father, who assumed the title of Lord Lovat, Simon himself taking that of Master of Lovat. This, however, did not pass undisputed. The late lord had left a daughter, who was heiress by his marriage-contract, and who assumed the title of Baroness Lovat. Simon, to make his position secure, arranged to elope with this young lady, and a clansman, Fraser of Fenechiel, conducted the lady forth one winter night in such haste that she is said to have walked barefoot. The elopement, however, was frustrated, and Lord Saltoun, who represented a branch of the clan, ventured on her behalf into Inverness-shire to arrange matters with the people and induce them to submit to her as their head. Simon gathered together a few armed followers, and in the woods of Bunchrew captured Saltoun and his followers. He took them

first to the tower of Fanellan, where, when they looked out in the morning, they beheld a huge gallows erected. They were afterwards taken to Ellanaigus, where they were confined in a "creel-house" and treated with great indignity. They were afterwards liberated, Simon having in hand projects of a still more outrageous character. As he was unable to get possession of the heiress, he determined to marry her mother, the dowager Lady Lovat. He seized Castle Downie, where the lady resided; and then followed this outrage, which is thus fully described in legal proceedings afterwards taken :—

"He and his said accomplices make the lady close prisoner in her chamber under his armed guard, and there come upon her with Mr Robert Munro, minister of Abertarff, and three or four ruffians, in the night-time, about two or three in the morning, and having dragged out her maids, Agnes M'Bryar and —— Fraser, he proposes to the lady that she should marry him, and when she fell lamenting and crying, the great pipe was blown up to drown her cries, and the wicked villains ordered the minister to proceed. And though she protested with tears and cries, and also afforded all promises of anything else, and declared she would sacrifice her life sooner than consent to their proposal, nevertheless the said minister proceeds and declares them married persons, and Hugh Fraser of Kilmonavic and Hutcheon Oig, both of them thieves and murderers, are appointed for their waiting-maids. And though she often swarved [fainted], and again cried most piteously, yet no relenting. But the bagpipe is blown up as formerly, and the aforesaid ruffians rent off her clothes, cutting her stays with their dirks, and so thrust her into her bed."

For this offence Simon was outlawed, and "letters of intercommuning" were issued against him. By the aid of the

Stratherrick men he held his own and defied his enemies. Some of the latter he captured, and administered to them the following oath on their dirks: "They renounced their claims in Jesus Christ and their hopes of heaven, and devoted themselves to the devil and all the torments of hell, if ever they ventured into the territories of Lord Lovat or occasioned him directly or indirectly the smallest mischief"!

After a time Simon found the country too hot to hold him, and fled to France, where he was well received at the exiled Court of St Germains, whence in 1703 he returned to Scotland on a Jacobite mission. While in France he adopted the Roman Catholic faith. In the Highlands he had interviews with Lochiel and several of the chiefs, who confided to him their plans of a general rising. These he betrayed to the Duke of Queensberry, hoping by his treachery to gain favour with the Government. He then hastened back to France to act the part of spy among the Jacobites. His duplicity was discovered, he was seized and sent to the Bastille, only obtaining his liberty in 1708 by entering the Jesuit College of St Omer. He is believed to have become a priest and acquired considerable popularity as a preacher, and is reported to have said that if he had remained in orders he would at least have been an archbishop, if he did not fill the chair of St Peter.

Meantime the heiress of Lovat had married Mackenzie of Fraserdale, had obtained possession of the estates in Inverness-shire, and assumed the title of the Baroness Lovat. To many of the Frasers this was a disappointment, and they resolved to send one of their number, a Major Fraser, to France to find Simon, whom they regarded as their natural chief. The mission of the major was successful. He and Simon escaped to England, and after various strange adventures returned to Inverness-shire.

The time of his return was critical. The husband of the

baroness was away with Mar during the rising of 1719, and had the greater portion of the Clan Fraser with him. Simon resolved to take the side of the Hanoverians. As we have seen, he had been enabled to render the Government signal service. At his command the men of the clan who had followed Mackenzie at once returned home, and with these and the clansmen who had not gone out he captured Inverness and broke the neck of the rebellion in the North. Success now attended his steps. He obtained the forfeited estates of Lovat from the Government, had honours conferred upon him, and finally received by a decree of the Court of Session the title of Lord Lovat. He was made Sheriff of Inverness, and became the great man of the county.

At Castle Dounie or Beaufort he kept a sort of rude court. "His table," says Sir Walter Scott, "was filled with Frasers, whom he called his cousins, and took care that the fare with which they were regaled was adapted, not to their supposed quality, but to the actual importance of his guests." At the head of a long table were the neighbouring chiefs or distinguished strangers, and here claret and French cookery graced the board. Lower down were the duihnewassels, who enjoyed beef and mutton, with a glass of some humbler wine. The commoners of the clan occupied the next range, feeding on sheep-heads, and drinking whisky or ale. Clustering on the castle green in sunshine, or cowering in the outhouses in foul weather, were congregated the ruffians of the clan, to gnaw the bones and devour the offal. The provisions brought in for each day were all consumed by nightfall, and a stranger arriving in the evening could find nothing with which to break his fast. Lovat exercised his power over his vassals with the utmost severity, and a visitor to the castle tells us he saw sometimes three or four, sometimes half-a-dozen, hung up by the heels for hours on the few trees round the mansion.

Lovat's first marriage he regarded as a youthful frolic, and afterwards married twice while his first unfortunate wife was still alive. The character and previous conduct of the man do not seem to have in any way diminished his popularity. "You know," wrote the Duke of Queensberry, "Lord Lovat is one for whom I have with good reason the greatest esteem and respect." The king himself became godfather to one of his children, and Lord President Forbes, a man held in highest esteem, constantly corresponded with him on the most friendly and affectionate footing.

About 1736 this extraordinary man began to support the Government with less ardour. John Roy Stewart, a celebrated Jacobite, it is said with his connivance as sheriff, broke out of gaol at Inverness and went to live for six weeks at Lovat's house, and "was charged from him with a message to the Pretender." From 1737 Lovat was at the head of an association of the Highland chiefs for the restoration of the exiled family. Outwardly, however, he professed himself to be a firm supporter of the Government. When spoken to on the subject by Lord Islay he was loud in his professions of loyalty. "He said my house was a Jacobite house," says Lovat himself, "that the discourse of those in my house was of Jacobitism, and that I conversed with nobody but Jacobites. He told me that the First Minister had intelligence from abroad of my correspondence with the Pretender. I answered his lordship with a little warmth that those stories were damned calumnies and lies, and that I did not for many years write a letter to a person beyond sea, which indeed is true."

The Government were not deceived by these unblushing falsehoods. They treated him with suspicion and coldness, and deprived him of his sheriffship of Inverness. His wrath at losing this appointment was unbounded. At Castle Dounie he openly entertained those known to be disaffected.

His intrigues with the Jacobite chiefs were unremitting, while he wrote the Lord Advocate that "no hardship or ill-usage that I meet with can alter or diminish my zeal and attachment for his Majesty's person and Government." He wrote to a friend to persuade Glengarry to take the oaths. "I know," he said, "he has no regard for them, so he should not stand to take a cartload of them, as I would do to serve my friends;" and denouncing the Government for the treatment he had received from them, he said, "If Kouli Khan had landed in Scotland, that would have justified him to have joined him with his clan, and he would have done it."

Such was the leading man in Inverness-shire on the eve of the '45. This rapid sketch of his strange career sheds more light on the condition of the county at that time than any amount of description can do.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COUNTY PREPARING FOR A RISING — EMISSARIES FROM FRANCE AT WORK—PRINCE CHARLES STEWART LANDS IN MOIDART—THE DIE CAST—HEROISM OF YOUNG MACDONALD OF KINLOCH MOIDART—DESCRIPTION OF THE PRINCE BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT—LOCHIEL PREVAILED TO JOIN THE ENTERPRISE — THE FIRST BLOODSHED IN THE NEW RISING —THE STANDARD RAISED IN GLENFINNAN — GENERAL COPE MARCHES NORTHWARD—MAKES FOR INVERNESS—PRINCE CHARLES CROSSES CORRYARRICK AND CAMPS AT DALWHINNIE — THE CLANSMEN WHO WERE WITH HIM — THE CUNNING POLICY OF LOVAT — THE HIGHLAND ARMY MOVES TO THE SOUTH — THEIR RETURN TO INVERNESS-SHIRE — THE "AFFAIR OF MOY" — LOUDON ABANDONS INVERNESS—THE HIGHLAND ARMY DESTROYS FORT GEORGE—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND ARRIVES AT NAIRN—PRINCE CHARLES CAMPS ON CULLODEN MOOR—FAILURE OF THE PROJECTED ATTACK ON THE HANOVERIAN CAMP—THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN—THE MACDONALDS STAND ON THEIR DIGNITY AND REFUSE TO FIGHT—THE LAST CHARGE—BRAVERY OF THE HIGHLANDERS—JOHN MOR M'GILLVRAY—ESCAPE OF LOCHIEL—THE SAVAGE TREATMENT OF THE WOUNDED AND PRISONERS—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND MOVES TO INVERNESS—FAILURE OF THE HIGHLANDERS TO RETRIEVE THEIR POSITION—THE MEETINGS AT RUTHVEN AND MUIRLAGAN—INVERNESS-SHIRE ABANDONED TO THE ENEMY—"MOURNING, LAMENTATION, AND WOE."

DURING the years that succeeded the rising of the Earl of Mar in 1715, communications were frequently passing between the Inverness-shire chiefs and the exiled family at the Court of St Germains. Emissaries from France were continually finding their way into the Highlands and consulting with the leaders of the Jacobite clans. These were still loyal in their attachment to the cause for which they had suffered so much, but they expressed themselves as unable to do anything further to support it without foreign assistance. Their followers were

to some extent disarmed. Forts had been erected and supplied with soldiers to keep them in check. Roads had been made throughout their country along which troops and artillery could be swiftly conveyed from the South. They were closely watched by the Government. To make any attempt to overthrow the present order of things, they all felt would be hopeless. One thing alone could render such an attempt successful. If a foreign army landed on the coast well supplied with the munitions of war, and led by a leader like Montrose or Dundee, something might be done. The Inverness-shire Jacobites — Lovat now among them — waited patiently for such an opportunity, but they waited with little hope of it ever arising. It was therefore with feelings of the utmost consternation that they heard of the arrival of Prince Charles Edward Stewart in Scotland without money, arms, or men. Their feelings, which were to them as a religion, prompted them to cast in their lot with him, but their judgment told them that in doing so they were entering on an enterprise almost certain to end in ruin to them all. History affords no truer instance of the claims of what was supposed to be duty triumphing over those of self-interest and self-preservation than was exhibited in the '45.

On the 25th July 1745 Charles Stewart landed in Inverness-shire, on the southern shore of Loch-na-Nuagh, a rocky bay between Moidart and Arisaig. He had come thither in a French ship of war named the Doutelle, after touching at one of the Outer Hebrides. The ship had anchored opposite the present house of Roshven. On the arrival of the vessel Charles had sent for young Clanranald, who came on board accompanied by his kinsman Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart and some other gentlemen of his clan. They found a large tent had been erected for their reception, plentifully supplied with wine, spirits, and other refreshments. While the rest of

the party were partaking of these, Clanranald and Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart were engaged in earnest conversation with Charles, who conjured them to help him in this his hour of utmost need. They expressed to him frankly the feelings entertained by their Jacobite brethren of the hopelessness of his engaging in a formidable contest without an army at his back, and begged of him to give up the enterprise and to return to France. To all their expostulations Charles turned a deaf ear: he had resolved to go on, and nothing would turn him back. As the party walked backwards and forwards along the deck in excited argument, a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, Ronald by name, stood near enough to hear their conversation. To him the hesitation of Clanranald and Kinloch Moidart was unworthy of their clan and their name. That the son of their lawful king should appeal to them in vain for aid seemed to him treason and disloyalty. Charles in passing the youth guessed with quick instinct what were his thoughts, and, turning suddenly to him, with extended hand cried, "You at least will not forsake me." "I will follow you to death," was the eager reply, "were there no other to draw a sword in your cause." This expression of attachment moved Charles to tears, and the Macdonalds, carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, declared they would oppose him no longer. The die was cast. Nothing now remained but to see the affair out to the end.

An enthusiastic Highlander who was present at this striking scene describes Prince Charles as "a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round ring out of the buckle; a plain hat with a canvas string, having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons. He had black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes. At the first appearance of this pleasing youth," says

the narrator, "I felt my heart swell to my throat." Charles was disguised as an English clergyman. During his enterprise he generally wore the Highland dress. He was accompanied by a retinue of seven persons, afterwards called "the Seven Men of Moidart." With this slender following he took up his abode in the house of Borradale, where he remained some days, sending messengers to such chiefs as he believed to be his friends.

Lochiel at once obeyed his summons, but he came determined to persuade him to return to France. "If such is your purpose, Donald," his brother, Cameron of Fassiefern, had said to him, "write to the Prince your opinion, but do not trust yourself to the fascination of his presence. I know you better than you know yourself, and you will be unable to refuse compliance." It was good advice, but it was not taken, and the result showed the truthfulness of the prophecy. "I have come hither," said Charles in his reply to Lochiel's arguments, "with my mind made up to reclaim my rights or to perish. Be the issue what it may, I am determined to display my standard, and to take the field with such as may join it. Lochiel, whom my father esteemed the best friend of our family, may remain at home and learn his Prince's fate from the newspapers." The better judgment of the chief gave way before this appeal. "Not so," he replied. "If you are resolved on this rash undertaking, I will go with you, and so shall every one over whom I have influence." He then left Borradale to summon his clan and those of his neighbours most likely to join him.

The first blood in the new rising was shed in Inverness-shire. On the 16th August the governor of Fort Augustus, hearing rumours of some new movement among the people of his neighbourhood, thought it prudent to reinforce the garrison of Fort William by sending there a detachment under

the command of a Captain Scott. This officer and his head men reached High Bridge, which crosses the Spean, and still stands a picturesque ruin, when they were set upon by a party of Keppoch's men, and two of their number were taken prisoners. Scott deemed it best to retreat by the way he had come. All along the side of Loch Lochy he was fired upon by his pursuers from the heights above, and when he reached the narrow strip of land between that lake and Loch Oich he saw the Macdonnells of Glengarry coming down upon him from the rocks above Kilfinnan. With an enemy in front and behind, he was compelled to surrender. Lochiel, who came up with a party of Camerons, took the detachment to Achnacarry as prisoners, and Captain Scott was sent on parole to Fort Augustus to obtain the aid of a surgeon to attend on the wounded.

On the 11th August Prince Charles left Borradale and crossed by boat to the Moidart shore. On landing at Glenuig he was met by a crowd of natives, some of whom danced a reel in the exuberance of their joy. This reel is still known by the name of "The Eight Men of Moidart.' Crossing Glenuig on foot to Caolas, he took boat again and came to Kinloch Moidart, where he remained a few days. The beautiful avenue between the house of Kinloch Moidart and the shore bears still the name of "The Prince's Walk."

It had been arranged that the clans should assemble at Glenfinnan, at the north end of Loch Shiel, on the 19th August. On the 18th Charles left Kinloch Moidart for Dalelea, and sailed by boat from there to Glenaladale, where he spent the night. Next morning by the same conveyance he reached Glenfinnan.

The position of Glenfinnan as it opens on Loch Shiel is strikingly picturesque. Four glens converge on a piece of level ground, one side of which is washed by the waters of

the lake. The sides of the hills are covered with pine and birch. It is a lonely spot, silent and deserted. When Charles arrived here at mid-day only a few Macdonalds occupied the ground. He had expected to find the valley alive with men, and his heart sank within him. For two hours he remained in the utmost anxiety listening for the sounds of the pibroch and the tramp of armed men. Then his fears were set at rest. Lochiel and his men, marching in two lines, with some of the prisoners they had taken between them, crossed the crest of a neighbouring hill and took their stand on the level ground.

On the arrival of the Camerons Charles commanded the standard to be unfurled. The Marquis of Tullibardine, tottering with age, supported by an attendant on each side, performed this duty, and the banner, which was of red silk with a white spot in the centre, floated on the mountain breeze. Then the enthusiasm of the Highlanders burst forth. "Such loud huzzas and schimming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud, was not heard of for a long time." When the enthusiasm had abated, Tullibardine read aloud the manifesto of James and his commission of regency to Prince Charles, who then stepped forward and addressed his followers. His address was short, but calculated to stir greatly the hearts of those who heard it. He had preferred, he told them, to land in Scotland rather than in England or in Ireland, knowing that he would find there a population of brave men who would be as willing to live or die with him as he was resolved to conquer or perish. Among those present as an unwilling spectator was a Captain Sweetenham, who had been taken prisoner by the Keppochs while travelling from Badenoch to Fort William. "Go," said Charles to him at the close of his address, "to your general, say what you have seen, and add that I am coming to give him battle."

On the 19th August—the same day that the standard of Charles was unfurled at Glenfinnan—General Cope and his army left Edinburgh for the North. On the 26th they reached Dalwhinnie, where they camped for the night. Here the general on the morning of the 27th held a council of war. His original intention had been to go from Dalwhinnie by Corryarrick to Fort Augustus, and meet the insurgents in that neighbourhood, on the other side of the mountains; but it was reported to him that if he attempted such a thing he would be cut to pieces, as the Highlanders were waiting him at Snugborough, one of the most dangerous passes on the Corryarrick road, where all the advantage was on their side, and to meet them there would be his certain destruction. After deliberation the council of war decided they should make for Inverness. At a place which is still called "Cope's Turn" the royal army altered its route and made its way towards Ruthven, leaving the pass to the low country open to their foes. Any course more fatuous than was thus taken by the English general can hardly be imagined. Cope reached Inverness on the 29th August, when, finding his tactics had been completely frustrated, he assembled his men and marched them to Aberdeen, where they were shipped for the South.

On the 22nd August Prince Charles left Glenfinnan and encamped at Kinlochiel. On the 23rd he lodged at Fassiefern; from thence, by a detour to keep out of sight of Fort William, he came to Moy, the place, it will be recollected, where Dundee stayed for some time. On the 26th he crossed the river Lochy and reached Aberchalder, within three miles of Fort Augustus, where his army halted for the night, he himself going to the house of Invergarry in the neighbourhood. Here it was he received a message from Lord Lovat by a kinsman, Fraser of Gortuleg. Fraser asked Charles to excuse the absence of his chief on account of his age. Lovat wished a patent of a

dukedom that had been promised him, and an order empowering him to seize the Lord President Forbes, dead or alive. The patent had been left behind with some baggage, but an order to seize the person of the President was given, and with this Gortuleg returned to his chief, who was at this very time assuring the Government of his unshaken loyalty, and ridiculing to his friend and correspondent the President, whom he wished to seize, the silly hopes of the insurgents.

On the 27th August, the day on which Cope changed his route, Charles arrived at the foot of Corryarrick. He fully expected to meet the English general at the summit of this mountain. Pulling on a new pair of brogues, he said with glee, "Before I throw these off I shall meet with Mr Cope." It was fully believed that the two armies would come into collision at mid-day. To the astonishment of Charles and his men, as they climbed cautiously the southern slope of Corryarrick, they were unmolested. They were still more amazed when from deserters they learnt of the resolve Cope had taken. The Highlanders threw their bonnets up into the air in their joy, drank healths to the Prince, and wished to follow the English general and compel him to fight. A council of war was called, and it was resolved not to take this course, but to make a descent upon the Lowlands, which were open to them and unprotected. Two days after the Highland army had crossed Corryarrick they encamped at Dalwhinnie, on the same ground that Cope had previously occupied. There a party which had made an unsuccessful attempt on Ruthven brought into camp as a prisoner Cluny Macpherson. Cluny was an officer in the Hanoverian army, though at heart a Jacobite. He soon became one of the Prince's most enthusiastic followers, and left his army on the march south, to bring in the Macphersons to his aid.

On the 30th August the Highland army left Dalwhinnie on

their march south. There we are not called in our narrative to accompany them. The Camerons, Clanranalds, the Glengarry men, the Keppochs, and the Grants of Glenmoriston were with them. The Macphersons, 600 strong, joined them after the battle of Prestonpans. On the Prince's return from England the Mackintoshes also joined his standard at Stirling. The Mackintosh himself was an officer in the Royal army, and though at one time on the point of joining Prince Charles, he finally resolved to hold aloof. His heroic wife, however, was a true Jacobite: she embodied her husband's clan, and placing them under the command of M'Gillvray of Dumnaglass, who had seen service abroad, sent them off to the war.

The part played by Lord Lovat was quite in keeping with his character. In the beginning of September he wrote to Lochiel: "I fear you have been ower rash in going ere affairs were ripe. You are in a dangerous state. The Elector's general Cope is in your rear, hanging at your tail, with 3000 men, such as have not been seen here since Dundee's affair, and we have no force to meet him. If ye Macphersons would tak' the field, I would bring out my lads to help yer wark, and 'twixt ye twa we might cause Cope to keep his Christmas here." At the same time he writes the Lord Advocate asking for 1000 stand of arms, for if he had arms and other accoutrements he could bring 1200 good men into the king's service. The battle of Prestonpans, fought on the 21st September, was the turning-point in the policy of the old villain. Bumpers were drunk at Castle Downie to the confusion of the house of Hanover. The fiery cross was sent out to summon the Frasers. Seven hundred men were drilled on the green of the castle, with white cockades and sprigs of yew in their bonnets. The clan went joyfully south under the command of the Master of Lovat. "I send my

eldest son," he wrote the secretary of the Prince, "the hope of my family and the darling of my life, a youth about nineteen years old, who was just going abroad to finish his studies and education after having learned with applause what is taught in our Scots universities, and was graduate Master of Arts. But instead of sending him abroad to complete his education, I have sent him to venture the last drop of his blood in the glorious Prince's service." To the Lord President he told a different tale. He solemnly protested that since his son was determined on "that mad foolish project, he always flew in his face like a wild cat when he spoke to him against any of his distracted opinions." When his son had gone off with the clan, he mourns over his infatuation. "The consequences of his doing so are terrible beyond expression, though I declare I could not have done more to save my own life and the lives of the clan, as well as the estate of Lovat, than I have done by smooth and rough usage to detain him at home." With Lovat lying had reached the dignity of a fine art.

In the early days of February 1746 Prince Charles was back in Inverness-shire with a division of his army. He entered the county by Dalwhinnie. The other part of his forces, under Lord George Murray, took their route to the North by Aberdeen and Peterhead. On the 16th February the Prince reached Moy Castle, the seat of The Mackintosh, capturing the castle of Ruthven on his way. The chief's lady received him with great hospitality and entertained him munificently. Here he made a narrow escape from being captured. Lord Loudon with 1700 troops lay at Inverness, some twelve miles distant from Moy, and hearing that Charles was residing there, accompanied by only a slender retinue, he determined to surprise him. With 1500 men he set out in the night from Inverness for Moy. His design, however, was frustrated. Lady

Mackintosh received timely intimation of his visit from a girl whose father kept a public-house at Inverness, and who in waiting upon his customers had heard hints of the midnight raid. The lady acted at once on the information she received. She sent some of her men, headed by a blacksmith, to wait in the woods through which the road from Inverness passed. On the approach of Loudon and his men the vassals of The Mackintosh fired upon them, and by imitating the war-cries of the Camerons, the Macdonalds, and other clans, led them to believe that the strength of the whole Highland army was present. Fearing an ambuscade, Loudon and his troops beat a hasty retreat, and never halted till they reached the gates of Inverness.

Their panic lasted after their arrival there. Believing that the whole Highland army was encamped at Moy, and that they could not defend the town against them, Loudon and his army left Inverness by Kessock Ferry, and the day after their departure, the 17th February, Charles and his followers entered the town. Here they remained till the middle of April, the Prince being hospitably entertained by the Dowager Lady Mackintosh in her house in Church Street—the only house, it is said, in Inverness which had a room without a bed in it.

After a siege of two days Fort George, the citadel of Inverness, fell into the hands of the Highlanders, and was blown up. On the 5th March Fort Augustus was also taken by a party of 300 men sent from Inverness under Brigadier Stapleton. This party, with the assistance of the Macdonnells and the Camerons, afterwards endeavoured to reduce Fort William; but the garrison made a stout defence, and the assailants, unable to prevent the arrival of supplies and reinforcements by sea, were eventually forced to raise the siege.

While the Highland army was lying at Inverness, and enjoying such comforts as the town could supply, the Hanoverian general, the Duke of Cumberland, was marching northwards by Aberdeen and the Spey. On the 12th April he crossed that river. On the 14th he reached Nairn, where he was only sixteen miles from his enemy. It was evident that a pitched battle was inevitable.

Charles left Inverness on the day that his opponent reached Nairn, and took up his abode at Culloden House, the residence of Lord President Forbes. During his stay in the town he had manifested outwardly every confidence in his success, and had kept up a bold and cheerful front to those around him. In the morning he hunted in the neighbourhood, and in the evening attended concerts and balls. Inverness had never seen more gaiety than during his residence there, and when he left, with pipes playing and banners flying, the inhabitants with loud huzzas wished him good luck and a speedy and glorious return.

On the 15th April Charles drew his army up on Culloden Muir to await the approach of the enemy, but none appeared. The Duke of Cumberland rested his troops on that day, which was his birthday, an event celebrated with considerable rejoicing by his men. It was proposed by the Prince and Lord George Murray to take advantage of this festivity by making a night-attack on the Hanoverian camp at Nairn. Injunctions were issued to recall stragglers who had gone to Inverness; but before the muster could be completed it was eight o'clock in the evening, and two o'clock in the morning was the hour appointed for the attack. The Highlanders, however, set out in two columns, each at some distance from the other. Keeping clear of the public road, they toiled on through boggy ground, the difficulty of traversing which was so great that many of the men fell down exhausted with

fatigue. When the hour arrived at which the attack was to have taken place the first column had only reached the house of Kilravock, four miles from the Duke of Cumberland's camp. Dawn of day was near, a halt was called, and finally it was decided to retrace their steps, and the party arrived at Culloden Muir utterly broken down and dispirited.

This abortive night march was a bad preparation for a general action, but indeed all the circumstances were against the Highlanders. Many of their adherents under Cluny, Lord Cromarty, and the Master of Lovat had not yet joined. Those encamped had been for a considerable time without food except of the coarsest description. On the morning of the memorable 16th of April Charles could find no better refreshment than a morsel of bread and a glass of whisky. Some of the foraging parties at length returned with a supply of provisions, but before they could be cooked the enemy were seen in the distance advancing across the plain. The whole force marshalled together amounted to about 5000 men, famished and fatigued. The force they were to encounter was one of nearly double their number, in good physical condition, and well supported by horse and artillery. It needed no seer to foretell the issue of a combat so unequal.

The story of the battle of Culloden has been often graphically told, and we have little to relate which has not been better related elsewhere, yet the continuity of our narrative demands some notice of the fight. The Highlanders were drawn up in two lines. On the right was the first line, commanded by Lord George Murray, which consisted of the Athole men, the Camerons, the Stewarts, the Frasers, the Mackintoshes, the Farquharsons, and some other clans. On the left was the second line, commanded by Lord John Drummond, composed of the Macdonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry. The right was to some extent

protected by some park walls, and the left by a piece of boggy ground. Four pieces of artillery were placed at the extremity of each line, and the same number in the centre. On the right of the first line and on the left of the second line was a troop of horse. There was also a reserve of a regiment of foot-guards and some horsemen.

The Hanoverian army was arranged in three lines. There was a body of cavalry on each wing, and two pieces of artillery between every two regiments in the front line. Such Highlanders as supported the Hanoverians were told off to guard the baggage.

There was considerable dissension in the Highland army. The Macdonalds had always claimed the privilege of being on the right of the army. Their being placed on the left gave them deep offence. "We of the clan Macdonald," wrote one of their officers, "thought it ominous we had not this day the right hand in battle as formerly at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, and which our clan maintain we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles since the battle of Bannockburn." It was a fine instance of Highland pride, but the cherishing of it at such a time was deeply disastrous.

The battle commenced with a cannonade from the Highlanders, which was entirely ineffective, and was sharply returned from the other side. Gaps began to appear in the Highland lines. A well-aimed shot ploughed the ground at the feet of Charles and covered him with dust, killing an attendant who was leading a spare horse close by him. For nearly half an hour the English artillery kept playing upon the ranks of their enemy. The Highlanders stood this badly, and clamoured to be allowed to make an onslaught. A message was sent to Charles begging permission to attack, but before the answer came the Mackintoshes rushed wildly on against the English centre, followed by the whole of the

Highland right line. For a time they swept all before them in their impetuous rush. The ranks of the enemy were broken, and it seemed as if the successful tactics of Killiecrankie were to be repeated. The Highlanders had, however, only broken one line to find themselves confronted with another. A bristling wall of bayonets opposed them, and when they neared this dense living wall they received volley after volley, so murderous at close quarters that they are said to have been found afterwards in layers 3 and 4 feet deep. In vain they hurled themselves against their foes. Lochiel, severely wounded, was carried by two clansmen to the rear. Almost every man in the front rank was killed. Those who survived were driven in confusion from the field, which was covered by heaps of slain. The terrific rush of the right wing had spent itself in vain.

There remained to retrieve this disaster the left wing, and had those who composed it acted with the courage of their comrades the issue of the day might perhaps have been changed. But the Macdonalds stood sullen and motionless, cutting the heather with their broadswords. They would rather suffer a defeat than forgive the insult they thought had been put upon them. Glengarry's regiment was commanded by the Duke of Perth, a brave and fearless man. In vain he cried "Claymore." In vain he called to the men to convert the left wing into the right. In vain he said he would call himself Macdonald for the rest of his life. The angry clansmen refused to move. Nor was one of their own born chiefs more successful. Keppoch with a few followers rushed forward, but his own clan remained where they were. He fell pierced by musket-balls, exclaiming, "My God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me?" but they showed no disposition to avenge his death. As the enemy came nearer they turned their backs and marched out of the field in good

order without striking a blow. Their conduct displayed Celtic pride in its most infatuated form.

There remained now only the reserve line of the Prince's army. It had been reinforced by the remains of the right line, and showed some disposition to make a stand, but Charles felt that nothing they could do could retrieve the disasters of the day. It was hopeless. The Highlanders began to disappear from the field. A portion of the reserve line made their retreat in good order, with colours flying and pipes playing; others sought their own safety as best they might. The battle was over, and the hopes of the Stewarts were over with it.

The fight had been a brave one, though it only lasted about forty minutes. Many stories of personal prowess have come down to us. There are still tales told in every Inverness-shire glen of hand-to-hand fights between single Highlanders and the foes by whom they were finally overpowered. A major of the Mackintoshes, John Mor M'Gillvray, was seen a gunshot past the enemy's cannon surrounded by the English soldiers; he killed a dozen men with his broadsword while some of the halberts were run through his body. Another member of the same clan killed seven of the English with the tram of a peat-cart before he was overpowered and killed. A Highlander of prodigious strength, Golice Macbane, too badly wounded to fly with his comrades, placed his back to a turf wall and defied for a long time his enemies. Though assailed by a large force of dragoons, he held his own against them with claymore and target. "Save that brave fellow," cried some English officers, as they saw the unequal combat; but the dragoons, maddened by the injuries he had inflicted upon them, succeeded in cutting him down, though not till thirteen of their number lay dead around him. If personal bravery

could have changed the issue of the fight, it certainly was not wanting.

Marvellous stories also are still told of how men escaped with their lives from the dreadful carnage. Lochiel, severely wounded in both ankles, was carried from the field by two brave henchmen. He was borne on men's shoulders across the river Nairn to a place of safety. Others, after lying the whole night on the plain, crawled away to some friendly shelter. Single Highlanders making for the glens fought their way with their broadswords and got free, some of them carrying on their backs the property they had taken from their slain enemies. Those who were wounded on the field received no quarter. The English soldiers went among them stabbing them with their bayonets and cutting them down with their swords. They splashed and dabbled each other with blood for their amusement. One of their own side speaks of them as resembling "an army of butchers." The road from Culloden to Inverness was strewn thick with the dead. On the day after the battle search was made in the neighbouring woods for any fugitives who had sought refuge there, and all that could be found were murdered without mercy. A number of them were discovered in a miserable cabin, which was surrounded and set on fire Thirty-two blackened corpses were found among the ruins.

Any prisoners who were spared—and among them were some men of rank — were treated with appalling cruelty. Some were thrown into the prison of Inverness, and those whom its narrow limits could not contain were confined in the church. No attention was paid to the wounded. Many of them were stripped of their clothing; all of them were almost starved for want of food. They were then put on board transports to be conveyed to London. Their sufferings on board these vessels were indescribable. In

one vessel 150 prisoners were confined in the hold; of these only 49 were alive at the end of the voyage.

It was a dreadful business altogether. No more degrading idea can be obtained of the character of the Duke of Cumberland and his officers than that which comes from the perusal of the narratives of what followed the battle written by his own side. The name of the victor will always be covered with infamy, and the man himself remembered by the title of "The Butcher," which he well earned by his barbarity.

When the battle was over he went to Inverness, where he occupied the same lodging in Church Street that Charles had lived in before. "I've had two kings' bairns," afterwards said Lady Mackintosh, to whom the house belonged, "and to tell you the truth, I wish I may never have another."

After Culloden the Highlanders never rallied again to any purpose. Had they done so, though they might not have retrieved the disaster they had suffered at Culloden, they might have been able to make terms with their enemies and saved themselves and their property from the destruction that threatened them. They could have retreated, as in the days of Montrose and Dundee, to the fastnesses of their mountains, where no regular troops could follow them, and by maintaining a guerilla warfare have forced the invaders to admit them to honourable capitulation. Their leaders seemed to have entertained this idea, but unfortunately it was not carried out. Two days after the great battle a considerable party of the Jacobites found their way to Ruthven in Badenoch, a place associated with much Inverness-shire history. Among them were the Duke of Athole, Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvie, and other chiefs of clans, with about 4000 or 5000 Highlanders. They were keen for renewing

hostilities, and were far from considering their chances desperate. Lord George sent a messenger to inform the Prince of their gathering. The Highlanders, he said, were full of ardour and eager to be led against the enemy. The Grants and other clans which had hitherto remained neutral were disposed to declare themselves on their side. The clans who had received leave of absence would assemble in the course of a few days, and instead of 5000 or 6000 men—the number who had fought in their ranks at Culloden—8000 or 9000 men might be counted upon. Every one present earnestly entreated Charles to come and put himself once more at the head of an army of enthusiastic followers. Two days passed and the answer from Charles came. It was short, but to the point—"Let every man seek his own safety in the best way he can." Charles, who began his enterprise with seven men, abandoned it when he might have been the leader of as many thousands. One who was present at Ruthven, a Chevalier De Johnstone, who had fought as a soldier of fortune in the Jacobite campaign, tells us how bitter was the disappointment to the brave men who were again ready to peril their fortunes for the cause of the man who now refused to lead them. "The answer of the Prince," he says, "was heart-breaking to the brave men who had sacrificed themselves for him. However critical our situation, the Prince ought not to have despaired. On occasions when everything is to be feared, we ought to lay aside fear; when we are surrounded with dangers, no danger ought to alarm us. With the best plans we may fail in our enterprise, but the firmness we display in misfortune is the noblest ornament of virtue. This is the manner in which a Prince ought to have conducted himself who, with an unexampled rashness, landed in Scotland with seven men."

The visitors to the old keep of Ruthven, near the bright little town of Kingussie, or the traveller who sees its grey walls

as he is borne by railway rapidly through Badenoch, may well recall the touching scene that ensued when these chivalrous men there took leave of one another: "Our separation at Ruthven," says De Johnstone, "was truly affecting. We bade one another an eternal adieu. No one could tell whether the scaffold would not be his fate. The Highlanders gave vent to their grief in wild howlings and lamentations; the tears flowed down their cheeks when they thought that their country was now at the discretion of the Duke of Cumberland, and on the point of being plundered, whilst they and their children would be reduced to slavery and plunged without resource in a state of remediless distress." Few scenes in the story of Inverness-shire are more full of pathos.

One more attempt was made by the Highlanders to save themselves from impending destruction. On the 8th of May several of the Inverness-shire chiefs and other gentlemen met together at Muirlaggan, a spot about two miles from the western end of Loch Arkaig. Lochiel, young Clanranald, Barrisdale, John Roy Stewart, Cameron of Dungallon, Lord Lovat, and others, were present. After protracted consultation they resolved on united action. Lochiel, Clanranald, Glengarry, Keppoch, Barrisdale, and others, with their men, were to rendezvous on the 15th May at Achnacarry, the place of tryst being kept secret. The Frasers, the Mackintoshes, and the Macphersons were to meet the same day at some convenient place in Badenoch. Other clans were to meet in the Braes of Mar. They were all to take up arms, and none were to lay them down or make a separate peace without the general consent of the whole.

The plan was well organised, and had it been carried out much trouble to the Highlands, and especially to Inverness-shire, might have been saved. Money was not wanting for the projected enterprise—£30,000 of gold in six casks had

arrived from France for the use of the Jacobite clans, and with that sum much might have been done. But though money was plentiful, men were wanting. The clansmen could not be roused. Clanranald's men would not leave their own country. Glengarry's people had been to a great extent disarmed. The Government troops had already begun to scour the country. The Frasers could not be mustered. When Lochiel with 300 men came to the place of rendezvous he found few there to meet him, and he himself and the few who did meet him were nearly taken prisoners by a detachment of the enemy. Nothing could now be done except to leave the county and people to their fate. Their fate was indeed a cruel one. For many months together Inverness-shire was ravaged and desolated from one end to the other. Its annals at this period are like the scroll of the ancient prophet, "written within and without with mourning, lamentation, and woe."

CHAPTER XII.

CHARLES EDWARD STEWART AFTER CULLODEN—ARRIVES AT GORTULEG—MEETS WITH LOVAT—REACHES INVERGARRY—STARTS FOR THE WEST—AT GLEN PEAN, MEOBLE, AND LOCH MORAR—CROSSES THE MOUNTAINS TO GLENBOISDALE—RESOLVES TO PROCEED TO THE ISLANDS—SETS SAIL FROM BORRADALE WITH DONALD MACLEOD — RETURNS AFTER MANY ADVENTURES AND ESCAPES TO THE MAINLAND—AT LITTLE MALLACK—REACHES BORRADALE FOR THE THIRD TIME—PASSES THROUGH A CORDON OF SOLDIERS—STAYS WITH THE SEVEN OUTLAWS OF GLENMORISTON—MOVES AGAIN WESTWARD—WELCOMED BY FRIENDS IN LOCHARKAIG—MAKES FOR BADENOCH—JOINS LOCHIEL AT MELLANUIR—IN A SHIELING ON BEN ALDER—THE CAGE AND ITS INMATES—HEARS OF THE ARRIVAL OF TWO FRENCH VESSELS IN LOCH-NA-NUAGH—TRAVELS TO BORRADALE AND EMBARKS FOR FRANCE—ATROCITIES PERPETRATED ON THE INHABITANTS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE BY THE HANOVERIANS—SICKENING DETAILS—REBEL-HUNTING—RACES AT FORT AUGUSTUS—FATE OF THE INVERNESS-SHIRE CHIEFS — ESCAPE OF CLUNY AND YOUNG CLANRANALD—COLONEL MACDONALD OF BARRISDALE—THE APPREHENSION OF LOVAT—TAKEN TO LONDON—HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION—DR CAMERON THE LAST VICTIM OF THE '45—ACTS OF PARLIAMENT PASSED AFTER THE INSURRECTION—THE ACT OF CLEMENCY—THE ACT FOR DISARMING THE HIGHLANDERS AND ABOLISHING THEIR DRESS—THE ACT ABOLISHING HERITABLE JURISDICTIONS — ITS IMPORTANT RESULTS — THE ROMANCE OF THE COUNTY ENDS—A NEW ORDER OF THINGS BEGINS.

THE wanderings of Charles Edward Stewart after Culloden form a romantic episode in the history of Inverness-shire, and must to some extent be narrated in these pages to make that history complete, though we can only give an outline of the story. It is a story of which our county may be proud, for it illustrates as nothing else could do the high feeling of honour and loyalty which lived in the hearts of the humblest of its people, who gave shelter and hospitality to

the unfortunate fugitive at the risk of their lives. They scorned to betray him when to do so would have brought them fortune beyond their wildest dreams. The £30,000 which the Government set upon his head was within the reach of hundreds of men ground down to the dust by poverty and suffering, yet every one of them disdained to take it. History records no such perfect instance of loyalty to a person, and of splendid fidelity to a fallen cause.

Charles, from the eminence on which he stood on the field of Culloden, saw with dismay the ruin of his army and the failure of his ambitions. Two of his friends, Sheridan and Sullivan, who were near him, believing that all was lost, seized his horse by the bridle and forced him from the field. Riding by the Water of Nairn, he and his friends came to Tordaroch, which they found deserted; thence they came to Aberarder, where also they got no access. They then passed by Faraline to Gortuleg or Gorthlick, where they halted. At this place the Prince met for the first time Lord Lovat. Regarding the interview which took place between them the accounts given are conflicting. According to one account the chief embraced Charles with great cordiality; according to another, he overwhelmed him with reproaches. In the intervals of his paroxysms of rage he rushed about the house exclaiming, "Chop oft my head! chop off my head!" Whichever story is the true one, the interview between the two was but brief. Charles, after changing his dress and taking a glass or two of wine, left the house at ten o'clock at night for Fort Augustus. Here a ball was extracted from his horse, and he continued his journey to Invergarry House, where he arrived at two o'clock in the morning. The chief was absent, and the place deserted and destitute of furniture. Charles threw himself, overcome by fatigue, on the floor, and slept till far on in the next day. On his awaking, his faithful servant Ned Burke provided for him a

breakfast, having caught two salmon in the river Garry with a net which he had found. This repast finished, Charles prepared to start for the west, and took leave of all his companions, with the exception of Sullivan, O'Neil, and Burke. Dressed in the clothes of Burke, he pressed on till he arrived at Glen Pean, at the head of Loch Arkaig, where he stayed all night at the house of Donald Cameron. He arrived here about nine in the evening, and was so fatigued that he fell asleep while Burke was undoing his spatterdashes. Next morning he and his friends went still farther west to Meoble, not far from Loch Morar, where he passed the night and was kindly entertained. The hardships of his journey now commenced. He had to abandon his horse and travel on foot. Leaving Meoble, the party reached Oban, at the head of Loch Morar, where they stayed the night in a shieling near a wood. Next day, Sunday, 20th April, they crossed the mountains to Glenboisdale in Arisaig, not far from the spot where nine months previously he had landed to begin the enterprise which had ended in such miserable failure. At Glenboisdale several fugitives joined the party, and long and anxious were the consultations as to what course the Prince should pursue. Government vessels were cruising among the Western Isles, while detachments of infantry were guarding all the fords and passes on the mainland. The situation was full of peril. After much deliberation it was decided that Charles should proceed to the Islands on the chance of finding a vessel which might convey him to France. There happened to be in the neighbourhood of Kinloch Moidart an old Highlander, Donald Macleod, who was well acquainted with the navigation of the Hebrides. He was sent for to meet the Prince at Borradale. The account of the interview taken down from Donald by the faithful chronicler of the Jacobites, Bishop Forbes, is extremely interesting, and strikingly Celtic. When the Highlander came

to Borradale the first man he met was the Prince walking moodily by himself in a wood.

"Are you Donald Macleod of Quatergill in Skye?" he asked.

"Yes," said Donald, "I am the same man, may it please your Majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure wi' me?"

"Then," said the Prince, "you see, Donald, I am in distress. I therefore throw myself into your bosom and let you do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man and fit to be trusted."

"When Donald was giving me this part of the narrative," says the bishop, "he grat sare, the tears came running down his cheeks, and he said, 'Wha the deil could help greeting when speaking on sic a sad subject?'"

On the evening of the 24th April, under the guidance of this faithful Highlander and skilful pilot, Charles set out from Borradale, on Loch-na-Nuagh, to seek for safety in the Islands. Of his numerous adventures among the Hebrides, the perils he encountered, his hairbreadth escapes, and above all, of the faithful friends, especially the heroic Flora Macdonald, who succoured him, it does not fall within our province to tell. Early on the morning of the 5th July he landed again on the mainland of Inverness-shire at a place called Little Mallack, on the south side of Loch Nevis, and from this point we once more take up his story.

The change from the Islands to the mainland did not seem to offer greater safety to the fugitive Prince. The whole district was in the hands of the king's soldiers, and was well watched in every part. For three days and three nights Charles and his companions, among whom was the Laird of Mackinnon in Skye, and a John Mackinnon of the same

clan, durst not stir from the place where they landed, but lay concealed among the heather under the open sky. On the fourth day they rowed along the shore of Loch Nevis, hoping to find some cave where they could obtain shelter from the inclement weather. As they passed round a point they ran against a boat moored to a rock, and saw standing on the shore a party of men, the red crosses on whose bonnets told them that they belonged to the militia. They were ordered to pull ashore for examination. This they did not do. "Pull for your lives," said Mackinnon to the boatmen, and away they sped down the loch. They were pursued by the soldiers, and for some time the pursuit was keen; but at length they distanced their followers, and coming to a place where the woods came down to the shore, they shot their boat into a little bay. Charles landed, and from a hill saw the militiamen returning from the pursuit. The fugitives again embarked after a few hours' rest, and reached a small island, where they took refuge.

Old Clanranald happening to be in the country, John Mackinnon was sent to him requesting his assistance. This the chief declined to give: he had suffered much in the cause, and would not run any further risk. Mackinnon left him in a passion and returned to Charles, who received the news of his failure resignedly. "Well, Mackinnon, there is no help for it, we must do the best we can for ourselves."

From Little Mallack, to which they returned, they travelled to the house of Macdonald of Morar, at the head of the loch of that name, and reached it at an early hour in the morning. It had been burned by the military, but they found the owner and his family in a bothy which had been erected close by. Mrs Macdonald, who was the sister of Lochiel, gave the party

a kindly reception, and at the sight of the poor prince she was so affected that she burst into tears. Her husband also appeared no less hearty in his welcome. He would, he said, go and see young Clanranald and enlist his services. When he returned his manner was changed. His enthusiasm had departed. He had not, he said, been able to find the young chief, and had evidently been dissuaded from giving any further assistance. To a touching appeal made to him by Charles he remained unmoved, and the poor fugitive feeling himself deserted and in the toils of the enemy, exclaimed, "O God Almighty! look down upon my circumstances and pity me, for I am in a most melancholy situation."

His circumstances were indeed melancholy enough. Escape seemed hopeless, but his friends the Mackinnons stood true to him and would not allow him to despair. "I never," cried the old chief, "will leave your Royal Highness in the day of danger, but will, under God, do all I can for you, and go with you wherever you order me." "With the help of God," said John, "I will go through the wide world with your Royal Highness." Accompanied by these brave men Charles reached Borradale for the third time. The house that had welcomed him at his first landing had been burnt down, and Angus Macdonald, the proprietor, was living in a small hut. He at once gave the Prince his promise to protect him, and he remained hidden with him three days in a wood. He now bade an affectionate farewell to his Skye friends, who returned home.

Borradale was not long a place of safety. Intelligence reached Charles that he had been traced from Skye, and his pursuers were even now on his scent. A Government ship had entered Loch-na-Nuagh. Again the hunted man had to shift

his quarters. He resolved to move more into the interior of the country, but it was difficult for him to do so. A cordon of soldiers had been drawn from the head of Loch Shiel to Loch Hourn. The sentinels along this line were posted so close to one another that in the daytime no one could pass without being seen by them. At night fires were lighted, and the soldiers passed and repassed from fire to fire. After wandering some days in the neighbourhood of Arisaig, where he met with friends, Charles by good fortune fell in with Donald Cameron of Glen Pean, a man who was well acquainted with all the passes and paths of the district. Guided by him he was able to slip through the line of watchers, and after many narrow escapes, and suffering incredible hardships, among the mountains that border Loch Arkaig, he found himself on the night of July 28 in the Braes of Glenmoriston, when his only shelter was "a small cave, the limits of which were so narrow and the narrow floor so rugged as almost to rob him even of the luxury of sleep."

In this region were seven men who had served in the Jacobite army, and were now living the life of outlaws amid the wild passes that lie above Glenmoriston. Their houses had been burnt, and they had been themselves proscribed. They were animated by intense hatred to the Duke of Cumberland and his men, and they harassed the royal troops on every possible occasion, constantly attacking them as they went on their errands, and cutting off many of them by volleys suddenly fired from behind the rocks. They were the constant terror of the troops at Fort Augustus whenever they went beyond the limits of their garrison.

With these brave outlaws Charles enjoyed a welcome repose of nearly three weeks, during which they watched over his safety and supplied his wants. They took solemnly an

oath "that their backs should be to God and their faces to the devil, that all the curses the Scriptures did pronounce might come upon themselves and all their posterity if they did not stand firm to the Prince in the greatest dangers, and if they should discover to any person—man, woman, or child —that the Prince was in their keeping, till once his person should be out of danger." So faithfully did they keep this oath that they never spoke of Charles having been with them till a twelvemonth after he had left Scotland. With them the fugitive enjoyed comforts to which he had been long a stranger. His food was plentiful though coarse, and he could sleep in peace, well guarded by faithful friends. His entertainers did everything they could to cheer him. They foraged for him. Distressed at his mean apparel, they shot down some servants carrying baggage for the officers at the barracks, that he might be better clothed. They ventured to the fort to buy bread for him, and on one occasion brought him with joy a pennyworth of gingerbread, which to them seemed the greatest dainty that he could possibly enjoy.

Accompanied by these good friends, the Prince wandered for some time among the mountains of Glenmoriston and Strathglass. He was in Glen Cannich and at Fasnakyle on the 19th August. Hearing that Glenmoriston and Glengarry were clear of soldiers, he moved again towards the west. With his friends he passed from Glenmoriston into Glen Loyne, and coming to the river Garry somewhere near Inchlagan, forded it breast-high, and made his way through the opposite mountains to Achnasaul, near the east end of Loch Arkaig. In this neighbourhood he met with friendly people, who conducted him to a wood at the foot of Loch Arkaig, where he and his party passed a night. The Glenmoriston men now parted from him and returned to their own country. One of them, however, remained for a few days, to be the bearer

of twenty-four guineas to his companions as an acknowledgment of their fidelity.

Among friends on the bank of Loch Arkaig, where he was more than once in imminent peril, Charles remained from the 20th August until near the end of the month, when he received a message from Lochiel and Cluny, who were in hiding in Badenoch, requesting him to join them. He seems to have made his way thither by the valley of the Spean, and on the 30th August reached Mellanuir, near Ben Alder, where Lochiel was living with four other persons. Lochiel gave him an enthusiastic welcome, and Charles, as he partook of the cheer afforded him and ate minced collops out of a sauce-pan, exclaimed, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince."

Cluny joined the party at this place, and the day after his arrival they shifted their quarters to a Highland shieling on Ben Alder called Uiskchiha, which is said to have been "superlatively bad and smoky." Thence after two or three days they removed to "a romantic and comical habitation called the Cage," on the shoulders of Ben Alder, and not far from the western end of Loch Ericht.

This last refuge of the Prince is in one of the wildest parts of Inverness-shire. A graphic description of it is given by one of those who shared its shelter: "The habitation called the Cage was within a thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down in order to level a floor for the habitation, and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to equal height with the other, and these trees in the way of joists or planks were entirely well levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes made of heath and birch-twigs all to the top of the cage, it being of a round or rather of an oval shape, and the whole thatched and covered with logs. This

whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which inclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from each other, next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a bosom chimney, and here was the fire placed. The smoke had its vent out there, all along a very stony part of the rock, which and the smoke were so much of a colour that no one could have distinguished the one from the other. The Cage was only large enough to contain six or seven persons, four of which number were frequently employed in playing cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking."

The place where this singular habitation stood can still be identified. It is about 200 yards above a rough burn which runs into Loch Ericht. The "Cage" itself has disappeared, but the huge stones which formed the chimney still remain, and go by the name of "Prince Charlie's Cave." A wilder and more solitary spot can scarcely be found in Scotland. To the left the visitor looks down on the blue waters of Loch Ericht and the yellow strands that bound its western extremity; beyond stretches the wild moor of Rannoch, with Ben Doran and the hills of the Black Mount forest in the distance. To the right are those of the forest of Corour; above, steep and strewn with great white boulders, is the shoulder of Ben Alder. No sound is heard but that of the wind as it rushes through the corries, or the murmur of a hundred little streams as they force their way through their rocky channels. Few places are more lonely and desolate.

Here it was that Charles received the joyful news that two French vessels sent to take him away had anchored in Loch-na-Nuagh. He instantly began to make preparations for his departure, and when messengers from Cluny arrived to guide

him to the vessels, they found him ready to begin his journey at a moment's warning. On the 13th September he left the Cage, travelling by night by Glen Roy, Achnacarry, and the head of Loch Arkaig. On the 19th September he reached Borradale for the last time, and next day embarked on board the French man-of-war L'Heureuse, accompanied by Lochiel, Sullivan, Sheridan, and about a hundred others. Thus ended his Highland adventures, which complete the episode of "the Forty-Five." The whole tale reads like a chapter in the romances of chivalry, and will ever reflect honour upon the Highlanders, and especially on those of our northern county. As we think of their fidelity and disinterestedness we recall the words of Shakespeare—

> "'Tis wonderful
> That an invis'ble instinct should frame them
> To loyalty unlearned, honour untaught,
> Civility not seen from others; valour
> That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop
> As if it had been sowed."

While Charles was wandering among the islands and mountains of Inverness-shire, the inhabitants of that county were suffering the most fearful hardships. Atrocities so dreadful were perpetrated among them by the royal troops, that if they were not fully vouched for by good authority they could not be believed. The Duke of Cumberland, to use his own words, regarded the Highlands "as a nest of rebels," and that nest he determined to crush beneath his heavy heel. After Culloden he transferred his headquarters to Fort Augustus, and from his camp there sent out parties of soldiers to scour the neighbouring country and to inflict upon the inhabitants the utmost extremities of war. No mercy was shown in carrying out his orders. The patriotic President Forbes, who ventured to expostulate with him on the enormities perpe-

trated by his soldiers, and made mention of the "laws of the country," received for reply, "The laws of the country! My lord, I'll make a brigade give laws, by God!" And he afterwards referred to the President as "that old woman who spoke to me of humanity"!

Certainly no feeling of humanity was shown by those who carried out his orders. Within a compass of fifty miles round Fort Augustus all was soon ruin and desolation. The houses of Lochiel, Glengarry, Keppoch, Kinloch Moidart, and Cluny were burnt. The houses of the peasantry shared the same fate. Cattle were driven away, townships given to the flames, women outraged, whole families turned out of their homes to perish by starvation and exposure. Such men as were captured were shot without trial. The details are sickening, and are almost unparalleled in the annals of civilised warfare. Pestilence followed close on these atrocities, and decimated those whom the conquerors had spared.

The men of Glenmoriston and Urquhart were told that if they delivered up their arms at Inverness their lives would be spared. Relying on this promise, made to them by no less a person than the chief of Grant, they marched to Inverness and laid down their arms. They were immediately made prisoners, sent by sea to London, and those who survived the treatment to which they were subjected were transported to the plantations. No faith was kept with the "rebels." "Rebel-hunting" was the term adopted by the royal officers to designate their bloody work, and it was engaged in as a pleasant amusement.

Various attempts have been made to free the Duke of Cumberland from the charge of inhumanity. He was discharging, it has been said, a painful duty, and he did so with as much lenience as he could venture to show. The following order issued by him at Fort Augustus is suf-

ficient to prove the severity with which he carried out his measures :—

"FORT AUGUSTUS, *July 8th.*

"There is no meal to be sold to any persons but soldiers ; their wives are not allowed to buy it. If any soldier, soldier's wife, or any person belonging to the army, is known to sell or give any meal to any Highlander or any person of the country, they shall first be whipped severely for disobeying this order, and then put on meal-and-water in the Provost for a fortnight."

The inhumanity displayed by this order is too apparent.

Sometimes as many as 2000 cattle reached Fort Augustus in one drove. They had been plundered from the wretched inhabitants, and were afterwards sold to drovers from the South, the proceeds being divided among the soldiers. The fort was surrounded by crowds of wretched beggars, mostly women, begging for the offal, or even to be allowed to lick the blood of the cattle slain for the use of the army.

The people seem to have offered no resistance, or to have in any way revenged the infamous treatment they received. No sword was drawn or gun fired. Their spirit was broken. One instance, and only one, of retaliation has come down to us. A Glengarry man on returning home found his house had been burnt, his wife violated, and his property destroyed. Maddened by his wrongs, he vowed vengeance on the officer who had committed the outrage, and who, he was told, was mounted on a white horse. Some weeks afterwards, by the side of Loch Arkaig, he saw an officer who answered the description, and, lurking in the recesses of a wood, he shot him dead. He found afterwards that he had killed the wrong man, and is said to have destroyed his gun and renounced the vow of vengeance he had taken.

Inverness-shire more than any other part of Scotland suffered from the vengeance of the Hanoverians, and in many of its glens stories are still told of the misery inflicted upon

the people. At last the time of fearful trial came to a close. By the end of June there were no more houses left to burn or property to devastate. The reign of cruelty and murder came to an end. The fire went out for want of fuel. The Duke of Cumberland thus pleasantly records his impression of what had been done during his visit: "I am sorry to leave this country in the condition it is in; for all the good that we have done has been a little blood-letting, which has only weakened the madness but not cured it, and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and of our family."

There was clearly no compunction for the miseries they had inflicted upon the unfortunate people experienced either by the duke or his officers. Their barbarities had been entirely congenial employment. When the work of outrage and butchery was finished they turned to other amusements. His Royal Highness instituted horse and foot races at Fort Augustus, and did not think it beneath him to make the peasant women of the neighbourhood, or, as some say, the followers of the camp, strip in front of the army and ride races in perfect nudity. General Hawley—"Hanging Hawley," as he was called—who had been foremost in every cruelty, took a leading part in these disgusting amusements. Nothing could possibly be more degrading to humanity than the story of what took place in Inverness-shire after Culloden. It is a shameful page in British history.

Some of the Inverness-shire chiefs who had been engaged in the insurrection made good their escape. Lochiel accompanied Prince Charles to France. Cluny remained hidden among the mountains of Badenoch for nine years, during which he met with many strange adventures. He lurked in caves, vaults, and huts, supplied with all necessaries, and even comforts, by his own clansmen, who paid their rents

both to the Government and to their chief. One of the most secure of his hiding-places, and which still is to be seen, was a vault under the house of Dalchully, three miles from his own castle. It is about 8 feet square and 7 feet deep, wainscoted with deal planks, and entered by a trap-door in the floor above. In 1755 Cluny effected his escape to the Continent, and died at Dunkirk in 1764. Young Clanranald managed to get on board a vessel on the east coast of Scotland, sailed in her to London, and without challenge crossed from there to Paris. Other Inverness-shire chiefs were not so fortunate. Glengarry was apprehended, taken to London, and committed to the Tower, where he suffered a long imprisonment. Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart was executed at Carlisle.

One prominent Inverness-shire man, Coll Macdonald of Barrisdale, who had taken considerable part in the Jacobite campaign, demands special mention. His fidelity to the cause after Culloden was suspected by his companions. When Prince Charles sailed for France, he was seized and carried with him, with a view to his being tried in that country as an informer. Some steps seem to have been taken to that end, but they do not appear to have been seriously followed up. Barrisdale and his son were confined to prison, from which they effected their escape to Scotland. The son was seized and condemned to death, though afterwards pardoned, and old Coll passed the rest of his days in confinement. The State Papers show that there is no doubt of Barrisdale being a traitor to his friends. While the poverty-stricken people of his district scorned to betray Prince Charles, he wrote to the Duke of Cumberland promising to discover the whereabouts of the Prince provided his Royal Highness would intercede for him. The duke agreed to the bargain, which happily Barrisdale was unable to

fulfil. Among the whole of the Highlanders he stands alone as a traitor.

The fate of Lord Lovat, whose strange history we have noticed more than once in this narrative, is well known. With the cunning which was his great characteristic, he had prepared for himself, in case of the fortune of war going against the Jacobites, a place of refuge on an island on Lochamhulin, among the mountains of Glen Strathfarrar. Thither he was carried in a litter after his parting with the Prince on the day of the battle. From a hill-top on his way to this distant retreat he is said to have seen his castle burned by Cumberland's soldiers, illuminating the darkness with flames. After a time he shifted his quarters from his lair in Glen Strathfarrar to another similar hiding-place on an island on the lake of Morar, in Arisaig. Here he was apprehended by a party from a vessel of war, commanded by a Captain Fergusson, which had been sent to search the west coast. It is said that he was discovered in a hollow tree, in which he was able to stand upright. He had entered by an orifice below, through which the sailors were astonished to see what appeared two human legs muffled in flannel.

The old lord, now past eighty, was carried in a litter to Fort William, and thence by easy stages, by Edinburgh and Berwick, to London. There he was tried by the House of Lords and condemned to be executed. On the 9th April 1747 he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Almost the last words he spoke was the well-worn quotation from Horace—

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

He could scarcely have chosen one more inappropriate to his own career. As Sir Walter Scott has remarked, Lovat was a strong example of the truth of the observation that it is easier to die than to live well.

Many of humbler rank than this great Inverness-shire chief, and from the same county, shared his fate. In the lists of those put upon their trial at Southwark, Carlisle, and York we come on many names with the words "shire of Inverness, gentleman," attached to them. Few of that rank escaped the last penalty of the law. Crowds of others were transported.

The last man of note who suffered for his share in the rising belonged to our county. This was Dr Archibald Cameron, the grandson of Sir Ewen Dubh, and brother of the "gentle Lochiel" of the '45. He was a distinguished physician as well as a brave soldier, and had been during the campaign as assiduous in the cause of wounded prisoners as of those belonging to his own side. He had escaped with Charles and his brother to France. In 1753, believing that the severities with which his people were prosecuted were over, he ventured back to Scotland. He was apprehended at the house of Gordon of Glenbucket, an old Jacobite, taken to London, and tried under an old attainder, and condemned to be executed. In the words of Sir Walter Scott, his execution, so long after hostilities were over, "threw much reproach upon the Government, and even upon the personal character of George II. as sullen, relentless, and unforgiving." He died like a good and brave man, and a monument to him—the last victim of the '45—may still be seen in the Savoy Chapel, London, where he was buried.

After the bloody work of "stamping out the rebellion" was accomplished, laws were passed by Parliament with a view to the "settlement of the Highlands." The first Act, passed in 1747, was one of mercy. It granted a pardon to all who had been engaged in the insurrection, with the exception of eighty persons who were exempted. Among the eighty were Glengarry, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, Fraser of Foyers, Fraser of Gortuleg, and some other Inverness-shire

men. Those persons also were excepted who had formerly been named in what was called the Act of Attainder. Among these were Dr Archibald Cameron, Cameron of Dungallon, young Clanranald, Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, Archibald Macdonald, son of Barrisdale, and Ewen Macpherson of Cluny. After the passing of the Act of Indemnity many of those who had been detained in prison were liberated, and returned home. Among them were some from our county who had been apprehended for taking part in the escape of Charles.

Another Act was passed "for the more effectually disarming the Highlands in Scotland, and for the more effectually restoring the peace of the Highlands, and for restraining the use of the Highland dress." The attempt to disarm the Highlanders after the rising of 1715 had not been, as we have seen, very effectual; but the Act now passed was most thoroughly carried out. The severest penalties were imposed on those who failed to deliver up their weapons by a certain date. A second offence was punished by transportation for seven years.

The enactment against wearing the national dress seems to us utterly ridiculous, as all sumptuary laws are; but it was, for a time at least, very strictly enforced. Any person, man or boy, who "should on any pretence whatever wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland clothes—namely, the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder-belts, or any part of the Highland garb—or should use for greatcoats, or for upper coats, tartans or party-coloured plaid or stuff, should be imprisoned without bail for six months; and on being convicted for a second offence, should be liable to be transported to any of his Majesty's plantations abroad for seven years."

The oath which was administered to the people by those to whom the enforcement of this wanton exercise of power was committed has come down to us: "I, A. B., do swear,

and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession, any sword, gun, or pistol, or arm whatsoever; and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property. May I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations. May I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without burial in a strange land far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred. May all this come across me if I break my oath."

The devices by which the people sought to retain, without breaking the law, something resembling their former dress are still remembered throughout Inverness-shire. Some wore pieces of blue, green, or thin red cloth tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees; others carried the breeches they were ordered to wear over their shoulders, the law not having particularised on what part of the body they were to be worn. Many sewed up their kilts in the middle, transforming them into a kind of wide trousers. This was a favourite device, and those employing it were solemnly held by courts of justice to have given obedience to the law of the land. We may here mention that in 1782 this ridiculous Act, so far as it related to the Highland garb, was repealed.

Another Act was passed in 1747, which affected the county much more deeply than the taking away of guns and dirks or the abolition of kilts and sporrans. It changed the conditions of life, broke up the feudal system, and destroyed for ever the spirit of clanship. The polity which came in with the Norman settlement in Inverness-shire, and which with its Celtic adjuncts had lasted so many hundred years, was by a single stroke swept away. Heritable jurisdictions were abolished. The Highland chiefs were deprived of their judicial powers, and their retainers could only be tried by the regularly authorised judges of the Crown. "All heritable jurisdictions of

justiciary, all regalities and heritable bailieries and constabularies, were dissolved, and the powers formerly vested in them were ordained to be exercised by such of the king's courts as these powers would have belonged to if the jurisdictions had never been granted." The jurisdictions exercised by the Highland proprietors were bought up and invested in sheriffs appointed by the Crown. The right of ward-holding, by which landlords commanded the military services of their tenants, was also done away with.

The effect of this Act upon the Highlanders was very far-reaching. The despotism of the chiefs, which there is reason to believe was often arbitrarily exercised, at once ceased. Their vassals were as free as themselves. No Keppoch, Clanranald, or Lochiel could demand their assistance, or adjudge them in case of contumacy to be executed with scant form of law. They were no longer thirled to their native glens, they could go where they pleased without asking the permission of their superior. The chief himself became henceforth no more than an ordinary landed proprietor, though doubtless still honoured on account of the name he bore and the race to which he belonged.

From the passing of this Act the history of Inverness-shire takes a new departure. Its romance, indeed, may in some sense be said to have ended with Culloden and "Bonnie Prince Charlie." But modern Inverness-shire contains those elements of civilisation and prosperity which were conspicuously absent from the Inverness-shire of the '45, and which largely compensate for the loss of the romance of feudalism, whether in peace or war. What seemed at the time to be the utter destruction of the social conditions of life in the county proved its regeneration. Before the graves on Culloden heath became green a new and better order of things began to be evolved.

CHAPTER XIII.

TRAVELLERS IN INVERNESS-SHIRE AFTER THE '45—VISIT OF GENERAL JAMES WOLFE IN 1751—HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN AND PEOPLE—GOES TO CULLODEN AND FORT GEORGE—ATTENDS AN ASSEMBLY—CULLODEN COMMEMORATED AT INVERNESS—REPORTS OF HANOVERIAN OFFICERS QUARTERED IN THE COUNTY—A CAPTURED PRIEST—ENDEAVOURS OF THE PEOPLE TO EVADE THE ACT PREVENTING THE HIGHLAND DRESS —VISIT OF BISHOP POCOCKE IN 1760—HIS INTEREST IN ANTIQUITIES—DESCRIBES FORT WILLIAM—REACHES FORT AUGUSTUS BY LOCH LOCHY —COMES TO INVERNESS AND CULLODEN—HIS DESCRIPTION OF BEAULY PRIORY AND OF THE AIRD—VISIT OF PENNANT IN 1769—HIS DISPARAGEMENT OF PRINCE CHARLES—HIS PRAISE OF INVERNESS—RESTORATION OF THE LOVAT ESTATES—ADMINISTRATION OF FORFEITED PROPERTY IN THE COUNTY—A FAIR AT INVERNESS—LOCH NESS AFFECTED BY AN EARTHQUAKE—LOCHABER DESCRIBED—BREAK UP OF THE CLAN SYSTEM—VISIT OF DR SAMUEL JOHNSON AND BOSWELL IN 1773—AT FORT GEORGE—SPENDS A SUNDAY IN INVERNESS—THE EPISCOPAL CHAPEL—RIDES BY GLENMORISTON TO GLENELG—HIS VIEWS ON EMIGRATION AND DISAPPEARANCE OF THE TACKSMEN—GENERAL CHARACTER OF HIS OBSERVATIONS—VISIT OF COLONEL THORNTON IN 1784—SETTLES DOWN AS A SPORTSMAN IN BADENOCH—HIS INTEREST IN THE PEOPLE AND SCENERY—RESTORATION OF CLUNY MACPHERSON TO HIS ESTATES—A BADENOCH FEAST—DYING OUT OF JACOBITE FEELING—"GEORGE III., AND LONG MAY HE REIGN!" DRANK EVERYWHERE—WHAT MAY BE LEARNED FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THESE TRAVELLERS —THEY SHOW AN EXTRAORDINARY CHANGE TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

WE may at this stage break the continuity of our narrative by noticing the impressions of travellers who visited Inverness-shire between 1745 and the beginning of the present century. They were not numerous. Inverness was then regarded as a very far-distant part of Great Britain. To reach it involved a long and expensive journey. No public con-

veyances existed, and the adventurous tourist had to make his way either on foot or horseback, or by hired vehicle. The travellers who did so were not many, or at least not many have given us in print the benefit of their observations. Still, what we do have from their narratives is interesting. It was a transition time in Inverness-shire, as in the Highlands generally; and the glimpses of things given us by these passers-by help to supply the want of more detailed record. Apart also from this, it is always instructive to see ourselves as others see us.

General James Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, whose tragic death in the hour of victory will be long remembered, was in Inverness in 1751. In his letters he gives us his impressions of the place and of the people. They are not very favourable—indeed we could not expect they would be. Wolfe was a young officer quartered in an enemy's country, and engaged in the unpleasant task of keeping in order its inhabitants. He had fought at Culloden five years previously, and was imbued with all the bitterness of feeling entertained by the victors towards those whom they regarded as "rebels." But he was a man who even at that time showed somewhat of that noble and honourable character which afterwards distinguished him as a soldier. It is said that when riding over the field of Culloden after the battle with the Duke of Cumberland, a Highlander, severely wounded, sat up and smiled defiance at his companion. "Wolfe," said the duke, "shoot me that Highland scoundrel who thus dares to look on us with such contempt and insolence!" "My commission," replied the manly officer, "is at your Royal Highness's disposal, but I can never consent to become an executioner."

Wolfe's letters from Inverness are by no means so detailed as those of Burt, but they are even more full of contempt for

the people of the place. "A little while," he says, "serves to discover the villanous nature of the inhabitants, and brutality of the people in its neighbourhood." It was natural, perhaps, that he should feel thus towards those he regarded as enemies, but he is quite as severe in his opinion of the Highland Hanoverians: "Those who pretend the greatest attachment to the Government seem to distinguish themselves for greater rudeness and incivility than the open and professed Jacobites."

On his journey to Inverness he had a look at the new fort which the Government were then engaged in constructing, and which we know to-day as Fort George. "I turned aside to look at the new fort of Ardersier or Fort George, and find a vast quantity of earth thrown up for ramparts, and the counterscarp and glacier finished. But I believe there's still work for six or seven years to do. When it is finished one may venture to say, without saying much, that it will be the most considerable fortress and best situated in Great Britain."

Our traveller made an excursion to renew his acquaintance with the field of Culloden, which he tells his correspondent he surveyed with "great exactness." He seemed to feel—and he frankly says so—that the glory of the victors was not a little tarnished. "The actors," he says, "shine in the world too high and bright to be eclipsed; but it is plain they don't borrow much of their glory from their performance on that occasion, however they may have distinguished themselves in later events." But he excuses the massacre of the wounded after the battle: "You would not have left these ruffians the only possible means of conquest, nor suffer multitudes to go off unhurt with the power to destroy." Altogether he appears to consider Culloden, from a military point of view, as a very poor affair.

He groans profoundly over the hardships of his situation at Inverness, though regarding them heroically as part of the training of a military life. "The winds," he says, "sometimes drive the snows with such violence that the roads are utterly impassable, and again when it thaws the rivers swell so prodigiously that there is no less danger and difficulty on that side. I can have no measure of diversion out of my room, unless to shoot woodcocks at the risk of rheumatism. It would be unmanly and very unbecoming a soldier to complain of little evils such as bad food, bad lodging, bad fire." Dreary as his situation was, he was not altogether without compensations. Inverness was not without gaiety, and the gloom which fell upon it after Culloden had partly cleared away. There was in the town a ball once a-fortnight, and of this entertainment our writer gives an amusing account: "We have an assembly of female rebels every fortnight, entirely composed of Macdonalds, Frasers, and M'Intoshes. I had the honour to dance with the daughter of a chieftain who was killed at Culloden, the Laird of Kippock. They are perfectly wild as the hills that breed them, but they lay aside their principles for the sake of sound and movement. They make no converts, which I chiefly attribute to a strong dialect of the Erse that destroys the natural softness of their notes."

While Wolfe was in Inverness the magistrates of the town invited his commanding officer, Lord Bury, and his regiment to an entertainment on the birthday of the Duke of Cumberland. It was a friendly offer, and showed a desire for amicable relations. Lord Bury suggested that they should postpone the celebrations till the day following, the anniversary of Culloden. Nothing could have been in worse taste than the suggestion. The officials, after consulting their friends, expressed politely their regret that his request could not be complied with; and no wonder, for there were few in Inver-

ness to whom the anniversary was not sad. Lord Bury replied that he was sorry, but that he had mentioned the matter to his soldiers, and that he could not answer for their conduct under the disappointment, which he feared would provoke them to some outrage in the town. The veiled threat produced the desired effect, and under compulsion the "battle of Culloden" was celebrated in Inverness. It was truly a bad balm for a closing wound.

From the reports of officers stationed in different parts of Inverness-shire during Wolfe's sojourn in the Highland capital we get some glimpses of the state of the country. Troops seem to have been placed in the most remote and out-of-the-way places. Captain Alexander Trapaud was stationed at Laggan Achadrom, on the neck of land between Loch Lochy and Loch Oich. He describes the "hardships of married soldiers" with young children, owing "to the scarcity of meal and fuel." He also gives the price of provisions: "Sheep, when to be had, three or four shillings; goat, the same; lamb, sixteen to eighteen pence; butter, fourpence a pound; eggs, three-halfpence a dozen."

Roman Catholic priests after '45 had a very hard time. They were treated as rebels and their offices proscribed. Many in Inverness-shire underwent great hardships. Trapaud in one of his reports tells that "the sergeant stationed at Knockfin apprehended on Sunday the 15th instant one John Farquharson, a Popish priest, dressed in all his sacerdotal vestments, as he was preaching to about three hundred persons in a great barn at the bridge of Cannich in Strathglass. He was brought to me, and I sent him with a party and the witnesses, together with his vestments and all the altar furniture, to the Sheriff of Inverness-shire, who committed him to gaol. The next day he was bailed out. The sergeant ran a great hazard of his life in taking the above priest, as he was disguised, by a small

sword and two soldiers with their bayonets, the people making an attempt to rescue the priest."

We have seen how the Highland dress was proscribed. An officer reports to his commander that "he took a fellow wearing a blanket in the form of a philibeg." He took him to the sheriff-substitute, who refused to commit him because the blanket was not tartan. On the officer's return he met a man similarly clothed; so, as he found it needless to take him before a magistrate, he took the blanket philibeg and cut it to pieces. This deed of valour is, however, excelled by the exploit of Captain John Beckwith, stationed at the head of Loch Arkaig, who gravely informs his superior, "On the 24th last month one of my men brought me a man to all appearance in a philibeg; but on close examination I found it to be a woman's petticoat (which answers every end of that part of the Highland dress). I sent him to the sheriff-substitute, who dismissed him."

These are some gleanings from the Life of General Wolfe, which, slight as they are, cast a side-light on the state of the country at the time. After a residence of nine months at Inverness, during which he went to kirk every Sunday, and studied mathematics under a local celebrity, Mr Barber, he took his departure. If he said hard things of the Highlanders when among them, he had good cause afterwards to think better of them. They fought bravely under his command. He led many of them to victory, and they bitterly avenged his death.

A visitor who passed through our county in 1760—nine years after Wolfe—was a very different kind of man from that distinguished soldier. Bishop Pococke was an ecclesiastic of the Church of Ireland who had acquired fame by his travels in Egypt and Palestine. He was interested mainly in antiquities. What he calls "druidical circles" or ruined churches were

carefully noted by him and described, but he has little to say of the social condition of the people. He entered our county by Fort William, which he tells us had been built to bridle the Highlanders. "It is a weak fortress," he says, "but they have put high palisadoes along the passes, which would prevent any sudden assault." The village which had grown up beside the garrison he describe as a "very poor town." After a short description of Inverlochy, which he tells us "was formerly a place of trade and was destroyed by the Danes and Norwegians," he pursued his journey by the military road to High Bridge over the river Spean, "which here falls beautifully down the rocks." In passing he saw the ruins of Achnacarry, the site of Lochiel's house, "which was destroyed after the rebellion was suppressed." The road along Loch Lochy he describes as "very pleasant, being adorned with wood above and below." He also expresses his admiration for the "beautiful narrow lake called Loch Oich, with two or three small islands in it covered with clumps of trees." He notices in passing the castle of Glengarry, a corner of which was blown up by the Duke of Cumberland, and "a new house built near it."

At Fort Augustus, "a very handsome, regular building, consisting of four bastions, which had been repaired at a cost of £10,000," our traveller was entertained by Mr Trapaud, the governor, and next day set out with that gentleman in the boat or galley belonging to the fort for Inverness. In passing Glenmoriston he noticed the laird's house, which had been burnt but had been rebuilt, and a very fine linen manufactory built out of the forfeited estates. "They teach forty girls for three months to spin, and then they take in forty more. They buy flax and employ six looms. They buy also yarn from the country-people, who raise a large quantity of it. It consists of the principal building and an office, for the

manufactures on each side." This factory had been erected by the Trustees for Manufactories and Fisheries in 1756, when it was thought necessary by Government to do something to give employment to the Highlanders and to prevent them leaving the country. It does not appear to have been a success, and was closed in 1791.

From Glenmoriston the Bishop came to Foyers, and is full of admiration of the fall; thence, passing Castle Urquhart, of which he gives a drawing, he came to the end of Loch Ness, where he was met by the Governor's postchaise, and drove to the town, passing "a druid temple." Of Inverness he speaks kindly. It is "on a flat below the high grounds, and all that flat ground is very rich. It is a pretty good town of two streets. They have a trade in imports, and an export of salted salmon caught in the river Beauliew, and also near the town in the river Ness. They had an export of malt to Holland, but it is at an end and all the malt-houses are in ruins. The salt salmon of Scotland is sent in great quantities to London, and a new trade is lately opened of exporting it to the East Indies."

After describing some of the buildings of the town, our traveller has next to tell of Fort George, where he went in company with General Poole. Though begun eleven years before, it was not quite finished. The houses of the governor and depute governor were still to be built, and also "sluices to let in the sea-water and make it an island"; but the bishop admires all that he saw, and expresses the opinion that though "a thousand men may defend it for some time, it would take two thousand for a long siege."

From Fort George he came to Culloden, which he leisurely surveyed, and describes, with somewhat of the air of a military expert, the plan of the battle and its execution. He saw "for half a mile the graves where the slain fell. They

were all instantly stripped by the women, who went loaded with spoils to Inverness, and the bodies were soon naked over the field." Probably this is as new to the reader as it was to the bishop. His reverence was a strong Hanoverian, and closes his description with the words, "Thus ended this day of such consequence to the British dominions, and crowned the duke with immortal laurels." This last assertion is somewhat strong even for a Whig bishop.

After crossing the Moray Firth to Ross-shire, and taking a tour in that county and in Sutherland and Caithness, our traveller again entered Inverness-shire by Beauly. He describes the priory, "pleasantly situated on the river Beauliew." In the church, "the shell of which remains entire," he saw a tomb belonging to one of the Earl of Seaforth's family, in which was the body of a lady. "Part of the skin remains entire like leather, and the hand is also entire and dried like a mummy." He also notices the remains of the kitchen of the priory, "with a chimney as wide as the room." From Beauly he came to Kirkhill, where he is much struck by the richness and beauty of the country. The Aird was then, as now, fertile and well cultivated, like a garden. Reelick the bishop admired, a very pretty box built on the side of a hill by Mr Fraser, the author of the life of "Koulikan, who purchased that estate after he had made a small fortune in the East Indies." There does not appear to have been much difference in what the Aird was then from what it is now. There was "agreeable variety of wood," and "beautiful fields up the side of the hills" had a most charming effect in the prospect. Bunchrew, "in a most delightful situation, was a fine, well-timbered estate." The same may still be said after the lapse of a hundred years.

Pennant, a distinguished naturalist and traveller, came to the north of Scotland in 1769, nine years after the bishop.

He entered Inverness-shire from Nairn, and came first to Fort George and Culloden. Of these he has nothing new to tell. He is contemptuous and most untrue in what he says of Prince Charles, who, according to him, "never came into action, but fled ingloriously to the old traitor Lovat"! Of the barbarities perpetrated upon the Highlanders he speaks lightly: "Let a veil be hung over a few excesses consequential of a day productive of so much benefit to the United Kingdom."

Of Inverness he has nothing but good to say. It is "large and well built; the winter residence of many of the neighbouring gentry; the present emporium, as it was the ancient, of the north of Scotland." He tells of its imports—"groceries, haberdasheries, hardware, and other necessaries from London." A new import he also mentions—"six to eight hundred hogsheads of porter annually." The exports are salmon and herrings, and "cordage and sacking." Of late years, he says, "the linen manufacture of the place saves it above three thousand pounds a-year, which used to go to Holland." We gather from his observations that the prosperity of the town had already begun to revive. The poverty of the surrounding district after '45 had exercised upon it a depressing influence, not compensated by the residence of the troops quartered there; but with the settlement of the country things had begun to look brighter for the burgh.

Pennant visited Castle Downie, the seat of the Lovats. It was at this time in ruins, having been burnt by the orders of the Duke of Cumberland. The country around was "fertile, well cultivated, and smiling." The son of the Lord Lovat who was executed had received a grant of the forfeited estates. He had greatly distinguished himself as an officer in the royal army, and was thus rewarded. An Act of Parliament had been passed for this purpose, and our traveller says "no

patent for nobility conveyed greater glory to any one than the preamble to the Act has done to this gentleman." He has also something to say on the administration of the property forfeited in Inverness-shire to the Crown after the insurrection. The rents were lodged in the hands of trustees and spent in the improvement of the country. The revenue was applied "for the founding of schools for the instruction of children in spinning. Wheels are given away to poor families and flax-seed to farmers. Some money is given in aid of the roads and towards building bridges over the torrents, by which means a ready intercourse is made to parts before inaccessible to strangers." It is doubtful whether as much was done in this way as our traveller imagines. Any improvement made at this time by the Government was but slight. One thing, however, was done which was worthy of all praise. The factors on the forfeited estates were instructed to improve them by planting trees, which was done to a considerable extent, and the expenses incurred were paid out of the rents. It was a good example to proprietors, and in after-days was largely followed. An experiment was, according to our traveller, made by Government which apparently ended in failure. The attempt to colonise the Highlands by planting in them communities of strangers was, as we have seen, a favourite project of James VI. It was repeated under more favourable auspices, but with as little success. "In 1753," Pennant tells us, "a large sum was spent on a *Utopian* project of establishing colonies [on the forfeited estates] of disbanded soldiers and sailors. Comfortable houses were built for them, land and money given, and some lent; but the success by no means answered the intentions of the projectors." This scheme of plantation has left no trace behind it, though it probably swallowed up a good deal of money at the time.

After a tour in the more northerly counties our traveller

came back to Inverness, where he describes one of the usual fairs of the place. "The commodities were skins, various necessaries brought in by the pedlars, coarse country cloths, cheese, butter, and meal"—the last in goatskin bags—"the butter lapped in cawls or leaves of the broad *alga* or tang, and great quantities of birch-wood and hazel cut in lengths for carts, and which had been floated down the river from Loch Ness." At this fair he saw specimens of the Highland dress, which he minutely describes. The Act which proscribed it had not been yet formally repealed; but it was apparently falling into desuetude, and the people were returning to their old apparel. Plaids and philibegs were plentiful at the fair of Inverness, but those who wore them carried no weapons in the time of Burt. "Since the Disarming Act they are scarcely to be met with. Partly owing to that, partly to the spirit of industry now rising among them, the Highlanders in a few years will scarce know the use of any weapon."

Mr Pennant pursued his journey from the Highland capital by the side of Loch Ness to Fort William. Like all travellers since, he was much impressed by the beauty of the scenery through which he passed, and especially by the grandeur of the Fall of Foyers, that "vast cataract in a darksome glen of a stupendous depth." He gives an interesting description of an occurrence the memory of which still remains, and which was much discussed at the time. On the occasion of the great earthquake at Lisbon, 1st November 1755, the waters of Loch Ness were "affected in a very extraordinary manner. They rose and flowed up the lake from east to west with vast impetuosity, and were carried above 200 yards up the river Oich, breaking on its banks in a wave near 3 feet high, then continuing ebbing and flowing for the space of an hour: but at eleven o'clock a wave greater than any of the rest came up the river, broke on the north side, and overflowed

the bank for the extent of 30 feet. At the same time a little isle in a small loch in Badenoch was totally reversed and flung on the beach." Pennant was an enthusiastic naturalist, and doubtless made full inquiry before he penned his description, which has been fully corroborated.

Lochaber, through which he passed by Low Bridge and High Bridge, seemed to our traveller a poverty-stricken district. He saw scarcely any arable land, and what little there was for tillage let at 10s. an acre. He notices, what we learn from other scources, that rents were being raised by the proprietors to such an extent as to force the people to leave the country. Emigration from Inverness-shire was already beginning: "The rage of raising rents has reached this distant country. In England there may be reason for it (in a certain degree), where the value of lands is increased by accession of commerce, and by the rise of provisions; but here, contrary to all policy, the great men begin at the wrong end with squeezing the bag before they have helped the tenant to fill it by the introduction of manufactures. This already shows its unhappy effects, and begins to depopulate the country, for numbers of families have been obliged to give up the strong attachment the Scots in general have for their country, and to exchange it for the wilds of America."

We learn also from Pennant that the old clan system which had so long dominated the Highlands had been thoroughly broken up. The Highlander no longer remained all his life an inhabitant of the same glen, which he was unable to leave without the special permission of his chief. The old tie between the vassal and his lord had almost been entirely severed even at the time of which our traveller writes: "The Highlanders mix more with the world, and become daily less attached to their chiefs; the clans begin to disperse themselves through the different parts of the country, finding

that their industry and good conduct afford them better protection (since the due execution of their laws) than their chieftain can afford; and the chieftain, tasting the sweets of advanced rents and the benefits of industry, dismisses from his table the crowds of retainers, the former instruments of his oppression and freakish tyranny." When we compare the state of things these words describe with that portrayed by Burt before 1745, we can see how entirely new conditions of life and of society were already beginning to take root in Inverness-shire.

A more celebrated traveller than those we have noticed came to our northern county in 1773. This was the famous Dr Samuel Johnson, who was accompanied by his equally famous friend and biographer, Mr Boswell. It was thought at the time a wonderful undertaking for the great lexicographer to attempt a journey to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It was as if, living in our day, he should propose a visit to the river Congo. When Boswell mentioned the intended tour to Voltaire at Ferney, the great philosopher regarded him with amazement, "as if he had talked of going to the North Pole." "You do not insist," said Voltaire cynically, "on my accompanying you?" "No, sir." "Then I am very willing you should go"! The tour, however, was successfully accomplished, and with few, if any, of those hardships which were anticipated by the southern friends of the travellers, and the record of the tour itself has become almost an English classic. Some of the observations of Dr Johnson were keenly resented by the Highlanders, and a Highland minister published a work, almost equal in size to the 'Tour,' with the object of showing the doctor ignorant, bigoted, and spiteful. He is represented as hating Scotland and everything Scottish, and as having chosen a time of the year for his tour (August) when everything looked at its worst. Two great offences are particularly

charged against him: he denied the authenticity of Ossian, and would not allow that there were any trees to be seen in his travels. But apart from these dreadful mistakes, the 'Tour' and its accompanying record by Boswell may, we think, be taken as a fair picture of what the travellers really saw. They had no intention at any time of conveying a wrong impression, and the prejudices shown occasionally by the great doctor were only such as might naturally be expected from one who had long lived in London, and who carried the associations of Fleet Street into the wilds of Glenmoriston and Skye.

The doctor entered Inverness-shire by way of Fort George, where he was entertained in a sumptuous manner by Sir Eyre Coote, the commandant. His companion could not help being struck with admiration at finding "on this barren sandy point such buildings, such a dinner, such company; it was like enchantment." But the doctor replied, "It did not strike *him* as anything extraordinary. Here was a large sum of money expended in building a fort; here was a regiment. If there had been less than we had found, it would have surprised him." He, however, vouchsafed to say at his departure, "I shall always remember this fort with gratitude." In the evening the travellers drove to Inverness.

The day after their arrival was Sunday. Fortunately for Johnson there was an "English chapel" in the town, for he made a point of never countenancing Presbyterian worship. It had been built in 1772 out of the burgh funds and a loan. It was a poor edifice. "The altar was a bare fir table, with a coarse stool for kneeling on, covered with a piece of thick sail-cloth, doubled by way of cushion." The clergyman, Mr Tait, "read prayers well, though with a Scotch accent." The number attending the service, Boswell says, was small; but the doctor says, "there was a very decent congregation." At

Inverness the latter was impressed by a noticeable change in the manners and customs of the people: "The appearance of life began to alter. I had seen a few women with plaids at Aberdeen, but at Inverness the Highland manners are common." Here the travellers made preparation for their journey westward by engaging two men-servants, John Hay and Lauchland Vass, with three horses, two for the doctor and his companion, and one for their baggage. It must have been a somewhat comical sight to see the ponderous form of the doctor astride a Highland sheltie. He seems, however, to have "rode very well," and his admirer proudly remarks, "As I saw him now for the first time on horseback, jaunting about at his ease in quest of pleasure and novelty, the very different occupations of his former laborious life, his admirable productions—his 'London,' his 'Rambler,' &c.—immediately presented themselves to my mind, and the contrast made a strong impression on my imagination."

The tourists took their way along Loch Ness to Fort Augustus. The doctor was pleased with his servants. "Both of them were ready and civil. Civility seems part of the national character of Highlanders. Every chieftain is a monarch, and politeness, the natural product of royal government, is diffused from the laird through the whole clan." He was pleased also with General Wade's military road: "We went upon a surface so hard and level that we had little care to hold the bridle, and were therefore at full leisure for contemplation." On this road he made his first acquaintance with a regular Highland hut, "ranged for the most part with some tendency to circularity. It must be placed where the wind cannot act upon it with violence, because it has no cement; and where the water will run easily away, because it has no floor but the naked ground." The old woman who lived in this habitation, "with the true pastoral hospitality, asked them to

sit down and drink whisky." In return for her kindness the doctor gave her a shilling. "She begged snuff, for snuff is the luxury of a Highland cottage." She sent her visitors away with many prayers in Erse. The doctor was evidently in good humour with his reception at this humble abode. "Its inhabitants," he says, "possessed such property as a pastoral poet might exalt into riches."

They dined at the "General's Hut," then "a house of entertainment for passengers. We found it not ill stocked with provisions." They were deprived of the pleasure they expected from the Fall of Foyers, owing to a long continuance of dry weather, and could only imagine "the effect of a thousand streams poured from the mountains into one channel, struggling for expansion in a narrow passage, exasperated by rocks rising in their way, and at last discharging all their violence of waters by a sudden fall through the horrid chasm." At Fort Augustus Mr Trapaud, the governor, treated them "with that courtesy which is so closely connected with the military character." With him they passed a very agreeable evening.

Between twelve and one next day they set off for the west coast by way of Glenmoriston. At Anoch, in that glen, they dined and stayed all night; the house "in a glen or valley pleasingly watered by a winding stream." The doctor remarks that "this country, however it may delight the gazer or please the naturalist, is of no great advantage to its owners"; and he mentions that the laird—we suppose of Glenmoriston—"had raised his rents, to the danger of depopulating his farms, and by exerting every act of augmentation has obtained a yearly revenue of four hundred pounds, which for a hundred square miles is three-halfpence an acre." He found in the humble house of Anoch culture and civility that surprised him. The young woman that waited was "not inelegant in mien or dress. Her conversation, like her appearance, was gentle and

pleasing. We knew that the girls of the Highlands are all gentlewomen, and treated her with great respect, which she received as customary and due, and was neither elated by it nor confused." The gallant traveller was so pleased with the young lady that he presented her with a book, which Boswell informs us was a copy of Cocker's Arithmetic. It was at this place Johnson first heard of "the general dissatisfaction which is now driving the Highlanders into the other hemisphere," and when he asked his host "whether they would stay at home if they were well treated, he answered with indignation that no man willingly left his native country."

From Glenmoriston the travellers came to Glenshiel and Glenelg, whence they crossed to Skye. The country through which they passed was mountainous, and on the scenery the doctor makes many of his characteristic observations: "An eye accustomed to flowery pastures and waving harvests is astonished and repelled by this wide extent of hopeless sterility. The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or usefulness, dismissed by Nature from her care and disinherited of her favours, left in its original elemental state, or quickened only with one sullen power of useless vegetation."

We will not follow our distinguished tourist to the Hebrides; we will only notice that his remarks here and there give us a very vivid picture of what was taking place in Inverness-shire at the time of his visit. He was told how many of the tacksmen were going to America rather than comply with the demands made upon them by the chiefs for increase of rent. Their places were filled by a number of poor people who had lived under them, properly speaking, as servants, the predecessors of the crofters of the present day. This migration Dr Johnson deplored. It seemed to him that the chiefs should have identified themselves more with their people than they did. The replacing the old "tacksmen by strangers

appeared to him a great misfortune. The stranger whose money buys him preference considers himself as paying for all that he has, and is indifferent about the laird's honour or safety. The commodiousness of money is indeed great, but there are some advantages which money cannot buy, and which therefore no wise man will by the love of money be tempted to forego."

The tacksmen seemed to the doctor the strength of social life in the country. "As the mind governs the hands, so in every society the man of intelligence must govern the man of labour. If the tacksmen be taken away, the people must be given up to grossness and ignorance; the tenant for want of instruction will be unskilful, and for want of admonition will be negligent." The modern factor, according to his view, could never take the place of the tacksman: "having no dignity attached to his character, he can have little authority among men taught to pay reverence only to birth, and who regard the tacksman as their hereditary superior. Nor can the steward have equal zeal for the prosperity of an estate profitable only to the laird with the tacksman who has the laird's income involved in his own."

The doctor severely censures the rapacity of the chiefs in driving away the people and letting the land to strangers. He thought that the landlords should be restrained by law from making extortionate demands. His views are in great part those of a Highland agitator of the present day. It was, according to him, folly in the Government to allow the chiefs to dispossess the people: "To hinder insurrection by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no subjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity of politics. To soften the obdurate, to convince the mistaken, to mollify the resentful, are worthy of a statesman; but it affords a legislator little self-applause to consider

that where there was formerly insurrection there is now a wilderness."

It is difficult for the unbiassed reader of the famous 'Tour' to understand the resentment on the part of Highlanders which its publication called forth. The doctor is full of sympathy for the hardships of their lot and for what seemed to him their oppression at the hands of their lairds. He admired their civility and hospitality at home, and their bravery as soldiers in the army abroad. Bigoted Episcopalian as he was, he found their ministers whom he met worthy of his highest esteem. As the great traveller and writer took no offence when asked by a haughty chief whether he was of the Johnstones of Glencoe or of Ardnamurchan (!), so it becomes his readers to take none though he is doubtful about Ossian and thinks Gaelic the rude speech of a barbarous people.

Late in the last century — in 1784 — another traveller came to the county whose object in visiting it was different from those we have mentioned. Colonel Thornton of Thornville Royal in Yorkshire was a sportsman. He may be considered the pioneer of that numerous class who, as the autumn comes round, yearly make their appearance in the North. On this account, if on no other, the story of his adventures is of considerable interest. He hired the house of Raitts in Badenoch from Mrs Mackintosh of Borlum, with grass and provisions for twenty horses. He provided himself with tents which he could move readily from one place to another. He engaged an artist, Mr Gerard, to accompany him and take drawings of the scenery, and carried with him provisions for three or four months. Boats, camp-equipage, and all things necessary were transported by a sailing-vessel from Hull to Forres, and carted thence to Raitts. He himself and his companion made their journey overland in a gig with two horses driven tandem.

The colonel was a thorough sportsman, and was much given to hospitality. He entertained the gentlemen and ladies of the district in most generous fashion, went to kirk every Sunday, and made himself thoroughly at home among the people. His days were spent on the hill shooting, and fishing, chiefly for pike, in the lochs of the district. He carried his tent and boats to the wildest spots among the Badenoch mountains. He astonished the natives by hawking on the moors. He seems to have been confined by no marches, but wandered anywhere he chose to go over the wide district from Rothiemurchus to Loch Laggan.

Unlike other tourists, he makes no complaint as to accommodation or fare. Wherever he went he met with politeness and hospitality. "Everything," he says, "for the comfort of life may be had in the Highlands at least nine months in the year, superior, if not to all, to most countries. Nature has given to the face of the country a large proportion of barren heath, but in the valleys every luxury of animal food, and that of the most excellent kind, abounds during the winter months." The scenery was to him full of beauty. He had to "rough it" considerably as he went from place to place, but anything like hardship seems only to have added zest to his enjoyment. Whether he spent the night in a bothy or in a gentleman's house, nothing can excel his appreciation of the kindness he received and the goodwill of those who proffered it.

The colonel's book is in the main a delightful chronicle of sport, but there are in it references to the people and their social life which are worthy of notice. Emigration had taken place in Badenoch as in other parts of the county. The best mechanics, the colonel was told, had gone abroad. Many of the tacksmen still remained. They were gentlemen of culture and education, and the sportsman found in them genial companions. Some of them had been in the American war, and

amused him with the story of their adventures. Recollections of the '45 were still fresh in the district. A "Captain M'P. had been a captain in the year 1745, and amused me," he says, "with genuine accounts of what had passed in the rebel army; and as I had just been reading an account of that horrid period, he threw several new lights on confused parts of the history of those times. He himself was long a prisoner, and narrowly escaped with his life, evidence only being wanted against him."

We gain a pleasing impression of the social state of the district from the gallant colonel's narrative. Though the clan system in other parts of Inverness-shire had become a mere nominal relationship, in Badenoch its best features still remained unbroken. Macphersons and Mackintoshs were on every side of him. Cluny Macpherson was still a venerated chief. "The lenity shown to those who had been out in the '45 had been well rewarded by the services they or their posterity had rendered to their country."

While the colonel was in Badenoch an event occurred which gave great joy throughout the district. This was the restoration of Cluny Macpherson to the estates of his ancestors, which had been forfeited. It was celebrated with much rejoicing, and the colonel received a polite invitation from Colonel Macpherson and the clan "to be present at the festivities. It was a hearty and enthusiastic gathering, and was held at Pitmain. On our arrival we found a large party of gentlemen assembled, and the area full of the lower class of the clan Macpherson. Other gentlemen were likewise continually ushering in from all parts, some of whom came above sixty miles. No words can express the joy that was exhibited on every countenance. The ladies too—not that I think it singular—seemed to enter if possible more heartily into the joys of the day than the men." The genial Sassenach was

quite at home among the Highlanders, and entirely in sympathy with the occasion. Strong Hanoverian though he and his family had always been, the return of the chief to his own gave him the greatest satisfaction. "At most public meetings there are some discontented mortals who rather check than inspire mirth: the case was here quite the reverse. With that perfect innocence which abounds in the Highlands, joined to *clannish* regard, not totally removed by luxury and knowledge of the world, every individual added something and exerted himself to promote the common cause."

The feast was worthy of feudal times. "The table was covered with every luxury the vales of Badenoch, Spey, and Lochaber could produce. And a very substantial entertainment it was—game of all kinds and venison in abundance." The gallant gentleman was specially struck by the charms of the ladies. They were "dressed in all their Highland pride, each following her own fancy and wearing a shawl of tartan: this, contrasted by the other parts of the dress at candlelight, presented a most glaring *coup d'œil*."

The colonel was evidently pleased with the loyalty of the clan. There was no mention of "the king over the water." The old Jacobite feelings had died out. "George the Third, and long may he reign!" was drunk with as much unfeigned loyalty as ever it was in London, "and echoed by the inferiors of the clan in the area around us," not a few of whom had probably marched in the ranks of Prince Charlie's army and fought at Culloden. A ball concluded the festivities, when a great number of different reels were danced with true Highland spirit, while every hill and mountain in Badenoch blazed with bonfires of "wood, peat, and dry heather."

This joyous gathering was a survival of the olden time, and the old clan feeling still held full sway in Badenoch. But in neighbouring districts the colonel noticed that it was dying

out. Even at such a great feudal centre as Castle Grant, which he had previously visited, he was "astonished to observe how very much all ranks of people were changed in their manners in the course of ten or twelve years. Luxury and effeminacy have proportionably found their way hither, and, through the facility of intercourse with the South by means of the high military roads, have almost totally destroyed the power of the chieftains. The existence of a new condition of things altogether had become apparent before the close of the century. Even a sportsman like the colonel, intent as he was on his own peculiar pastime, could not fail to notice it.

The travellers at whose tours in our county we have rapidly glanced in this chapter, take us over a period of between forty and fifty years. When we put together their impressions, we can form a very fair idea of what was the history of that time. Severity and repression and the strong hand of the law were the chief features of the first decade after Culloden. Then things almost suddenly changed. Many of the Highlanders enlisted in the army; many emigrated to other countries. Those that remained were rack-rented. The chiefs came back to their old estates to find a different state of things from what they left. The number of their followers no longer constituted their wealth. They had indeed no followers, only tenants, from whom it behoved them to get for their own support and dignity all that they could. If the tenants could not pay, they must be replaced by those who could. All Jacobite feeling had entirely died out or lived only in the songs of the bards. The toast which Colonel Thornton listened to with so much approval in Badenoch —"George the Third, and long may he reign!"—would be drunk with equal loyalty in the Braes of Lochaber and the Glens of Moidart. It was an extraordinary change in so short a time.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SULLEN DISCONTENT OF THE PEOPLE AFTER CULLODEN—BROKEN BY A CALL TO ARMS—THE PEOPLE ENLIST LARGELY IN THE ARMY—HIGHLAND REGIMENTS BEFORE '45—LORD CHATHAM ORDERS REGIMENTS TO BE RAISED ON AN EXTENSIVE SCALE—HIS CELEBRATED SPEECH IN PRAISE OF HIGHLAND SOLDIERS—INVERNESS-SHIRE A PRODUCTIVE RECRUITING-GROUND—THE HON. SIMON FRASER RAISES A REGIMENT IN 1757—MANY GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNTY JOIN—THE FRASER HIGHLANDERS AND THEIR CAREER—REGIMENT RAISED IN 1759 UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOUSE OF GORDON—MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS RAISED IN 1778—THE GORDON HIGHLANDERS RAISED IN 1794—THE VARIOUS FENCIBLE REGIMENTS—THE 79TH RAISED BY CAMERON OF ERRACHT—SKETCH OF HIS HISTORY AND THAT OF THE CAMERON HIGHLANDERS—EFFECT ON INVERNESS-SHIRE OF THIS GREAT OPENING UP OF MILITARY SERVICE—EVERY MAN PROUD TO BE A SOLDIER—INVERNESS-SHIRE MEN WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE ARMY: SIR COLQUHOUN GRANT AND HIS SERVICES—JOHN CAMERON OF FASSIEFERN—HIS GALLANT CAREER—KILLED AT QUATRE BRAS AND BURIED IN LOCHABER—SIR JOHN CAMERON OF CULCHENNA — SIR ALEXANDER CAMERON OF INVERAILORT — SIR JAMES MACDONNELL OF GLENGARRY — SIR HERBERT MACPHERSON — TWO GREAT NON-COMBATANTS: SIR JAMES MACGREGOR, M.D. — JOHN CAMERON, WAR CORRESPONDENT — MEN LIKE THESE MAINTAIN THE MARTIAL SPIRIT OF THEIR ANCESTORS—THIS SPIRIT GENERALLY DEAD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY—FEW INVERNESS MEN JOIN THE ARMY.

THE sullen discontent into which the Inverness-shire people sank after the fatal field of Culloden, and the hardships by which it was followed, were first broken by a call to arms. Such calls had hitherto come to them from their chiefs, and in aid of the Stewarts: this new summons reached them from the Government, and enlisted them in large numbers in the cause to which they had hitherto been opposed. Within little

more than ten years after the battle of Culloden hundreds of Inverness-shire men were fighting in the ranks of the royal army. There was scarcely a glen throughout the county which did not send out its quota of recruits to serve under the banner of King George.

Two Highland regiments had been raised before '45 which had in their ranks many both of officers and men from Inverness-shire. The independent companies formed in 1730 for the purpose of preserving order in the Highlands were in 1740 united under the name of the 43rd Regiment of the line, since changed to the 42nd, and best known by the original designation of the "Black Watch." The distinguished career of this regiment is part of the history of the country. Lord Loudon, who commanded the royal forces in the North, was able also, by his exertions among the clans which supported the Hanoverian interest, to raise a regiment of 1250 men, of whom 750 were embodied at Inverness. Many of them fought at Culloden under the Duke of Cumberland. This regiment did gallant service in Flanders, but on the restoration of peace in 1748 it was disbanded.

The successful raising of these regiments, and the good services effected by them, naturally suggested the employment of the Highlanders to a still greater extent in the service of the country; and when the bitter memories of the '45 began to die down the attempt was made, and made with conspicuous success. Lord Chatham, then Mr Pitt, ordered regiments to be raised in the Highlands on an extensive scale, and he enlisted many Highland gentlemen in whom the people had confidence to take part in his enterprise. He gave these gentlemen commissions and sent them to the Highlands to invite the people to serve under them. The invitation was largely responded to by those to whom it was addressed. They were men trained to the use of arms, and were glad to resume

the weapons which had been taken from them, and the dress to which they had been long accustomed. They had confidence in the gentlemen of their own clan who asked them to enlist. Nowhere could better soldiers be found than among the mountains. It was with justifiable pride that Lord Chatham in his celebrated speech on the commencement of the American war thus expressed himself: "I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It was my boast that I was the first Minister who looked for and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the war before last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side, and fought with valour and conquered for you in every part of the world."

Inverness-shire proved a most productive recruiting-ground. In 1757 the Hon. Simon Fraser, son of the famous Lord Lovat, and who had himself served in the army of Prince Charles, received a commission to raise a regiment among his clan. Though the ancient castle of Downie was in ruins and the Lovat estates forfeited, such was the attachment of the people to the son of their old chief that in a few weeks he raised a body of 800 men among them. To this were added 600 others raised by gentlemen of the country, and especially by those who had obtained commissions. Among these were many well-known Inverness-shire men, such as John Macpherson of Cluny; Donald Macdonald, brother of Clanranald; Alexander Cameron of Dungalton; James Fraser of Belladrum; Ranald Macdonnell, son of Keppoch; Ewen Cameron of the family of Glennevis, and others. The men wore the full Highland dress, with musket and broadsword. Fraser's Highlanders, as they were called, distinguished themselves in many battles, and took part in the siege of Quebec

under General Wolfe, when that great soldier was killed. At the conclusion of the war many of the officers and men settled in North America. The rest returned to Scotland and were disbanded; but on the war of the American Revolution breaking out, Fraser's Highlanders were again revived. Two battalions were raised by Colonel Fraser in 1776, who on account of his distinguished services received a grant of the Lovat estates. This body of men was constantly in action during the war, and on its termination returned to Scotland and was discharged in 1783.

Another regiment connected with Inverness-shire was that raised in 1759 under the influence of the house of Gordon. Many of the men came from Badenoch and the valley of the Spey. The 76th Regiment, raised in 1778, or, as it was called, Macdonald's Highlanders, was also largely recruited in our county, especially in Glengarry. It also did brave service in the American revolutionary war. Its men were taken prisoners on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army. Many attempts were made by their emigrant countrymen to induce them to join the cause of American independence, but all of them stood true to their allegiance. This regiment was disbanded on its return to Scotland in 1784. We may mention also that the Gordon Highlanders, still known as the 92nd Regiment, raised by the Marquis of Huntly in 1794, numbered among its officers and men many Inverness-shire soldiers from Badenoch and Strathspey.

Besides the regiments we have just noticed, there were bodies of Fencibles, as they were called, raised entirely in the Highlands. The following were specially connected with Inverness-shire: The Grant or Strathspey Fencibles were raised in 1793; the Inverness-shire Fencibles in 1794; the Fraser Fencibles in 1794; the Glengarry Fencibles in 1794; the Lochaber Fencibles in 1799. These fencible regiments were

chiefly employed in garrison duty, but from their ranks many men passed into the regular army.

These notes, necessarily brief, may serve to show to what a large extent the men of Inverness-shire took service under Government before the close of last century. But there is one Highland regiment which we have not yet mentioned, but which must not be forgotten by us, as in a very special manner it had its origin in Inverness-shire. This is the 79th Regiment, which has had a most distinguished history, and which still bears the name of the "Cameron Highlanders." This splendid regiment was raised by Cameron of Erracht in Lochaber, afterwards Sir Alan Cameron. He was connected with the family of Lochiel. His father had been out in the '45, and his family, like many others, had been subjected to the cruelties and indignities which followed that period. Alan was a man of herculean build and of a fiery but chivalrous disposition, whereby he early acquired considerable influence among the Highlanders of his native glens. When sixteen years of age he had the misfortune to kill a gentleman of his own clan in a duel, and to avoid the consequences was forced to fly to America. On the breaking out of the War of Independence he obtained a commission in a local cavalry corps raised by loyalists for the service of the Crown. Whilst on detached duty he was taken prisoner by the Provincials, and confined at Philadelphia for nearly two years. In an attempt to escape he severely injured himself, but managed to elude the pursuit of his enemies. Ultimately he returned home as a lieutenant on half-pay of Tarleton's Light Dragoons.

Towards the close of the century the hostile attitude of the French Republicans rendered a considerable addition to the land forces of Great Britain imperative, and the Government decided to raise several new regiments. Alan Cameron

offered his services to recruit men in his native county. His offer was accepted, and he received a "letter of service," dated 17th August 1793, authorising him to raise a Highland regiment, of which he was appointed major commandant. The men were to be engaged without any limitation as to the period of their service. They were to receive no allowance of "levy-money," and they were not to be drafted into any other regiments.

With this "letter of service" Alan went down to Lochaber, to which he had long been a stranger. When he arrived he was received with acclamation. He came to Fort William at the time of the market, and all present at that gathering gave him an enthusiastic reception. His mission was crowned with success. His brother had already enlisted a company, and from all parts of Lochaber and the neighbourhood men flocked in to tender their services. Within less than two months 750 men were collected at Fort William. On a winter's morning they were paraded close by the fort, and marched to Stirling with their pipers playing before them, amid the cheers of the people of the district. At Stirling they were formally embodied, and passed as effective by the inspecting officer, and designated the 79th. A few days after their arrival Major Cameron received orders to increase the establishment of the new regiment to 1000 rank and file. He returned to Lochaber, and within five-and-twenty days brought back the needed number of men. All the officers of the regiment with scarcely an exception were Highland gentlemen. The uniform of the regiment was *scarlet* with *green* facings; the kilt was of the Erracht Cameron tartan. It was specially designed by Alan Cameron's mother, and has ever since been worn by the regiment. The 79th at its embodiment was called the "Cameronian Volunteers"; afterwards it became the "Cameronian Highlanders"; and finally

received the name of "The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders," by which it is now called.

This regiment has always been specially regarded as the Inverness-shire regiment, and its headquarters are still in the county. Its history is one unbroken record of gallant achievements in every part of the world, and to give an account of them would almost be to write the history of the British army in modern times.

Alan of Erracht had a most distinguished career as a soldier. He accompanied his regiment to Holland in 1794, and to the West Indies in 1795. In 1799 he commanded the 79th in a second expedition to the Low Countries, and was severely wounded at Egmont-op-Zee. He commanded the regiment during the expedition to Ferrol and Cadiz in 1800, through the Egyptian campaign of 1801, and at the capture of Copenhagen in 1807. Returning to England after Moore's expedition to Sweden, he was immediately ordered with the 79th to Portugal. After holding the post of British commandant at Lisbon, Brigadier Cameron—to which rank he had been advanced—joined Sir Arthur Wellesley's army and commanded a brigade at the battles of Talavera and Busaco. At Talavera he had two horses shot under him. For his services in the Peninsula he received a gold medal and his K.C.B. After Busaco he was compelled to resign his command and to return home on account of ill-health. He died on the 9th March 1828. During his connection of fifteen years with the 79th he brought his regiment to a high state of efficiency. He took a fatherly interest in his men, by whom he was regarded with the deepest affection. His familiar name among them was "Old Cia mar th'a thu?" (How-are-you?), a question he was constantly putting to them in Gaelic as he asked after their welfare. The pride he took in his soldiers was that of an old chief in his clan. It is said

that when he was told by the commander-in-chief that the regiment would probably be drafted into others, and so lose its individuality, he characteristically replied, "You may tell the king from me that he may send us to h—l if he likes, and I will go at the head of them, but he daurna draft us." His son succeeded him in command of the regiment, but as its head had a short though gallant career. He was killed at Fuentes d'Onor, and when his men heard that "Cia mar th'a's" son had fallen, they raised in Gaelic cries for vengeance and dashed onwards in a charge that carried all before it.

The effect upon the population of Inverness-shire by this great opening of military service in the closing years of the last century was very great, more indirectly perhaps than directly. The Highland people became acquainted with other countries than their own. Many of them as early as 1765 received grants of land in America and settled there. Those who came back recounted round the peat-fires of their homes tales of their adventures and of the colonies across the sea with their mighty forests and unoccupied prairies, and many Highlanders were thus induced to seek a home in other lands and among the friends who were already there before them. A warlike spirit was also fostered among the people which was long of dying out. An Inverness-shire man was in those days proud to be a soldier. During the Peninsular war, from every little hamlet throughout the county men were recruited for the army. Every family of importance within its bounds had a son or sons in the service. The very children used in their play to form themselves into regiments. The writer of these pages is old enough to remember a time when every other farm in a wide district was tenanted by a veteran officer, who had gone through the Peninsular campaign, and from whom he heard tales of the lines of Torres Vedras and of the battle of Waterloo.

To give anything like a detailed account here of those Inverness-shire men who have distinguished themselves in the military service of the country would be impossible. They are too numerous. But there are some who were so celebrated, and attained so great a reputation, that in a county history like this they should at least be mentioned.

Sir Colquhoun Grant, of the family of the Grants of Gartonbeg, achieved great distinction as a soldier, and fully maintained the military prestige of his clan. He was born in 1764, a period when Inverness-shire men were inspired with an intense desire to serve their country in the field. He saw considerable service with the 36th and 25th Light Dragoons in India, and took part in the capture of Seringapatam. In 1802, after serving in two dragoon regiments with distinction, he became for a time lieutenant-colonel of the 72nd Highlanders, and was wounded at the head of his men at the Cape of Good Hope in 1806. He afterwards joined the 15th Hussars, and in the Peninsular war distinguished himself as a dashing and adventurous soldier. He commanded a brigade at Morales, and was wounded both there and at Vittoria. At Waterloo he was in the thick of the fight, and had several horses killed under him. He was regarded by the whole army as a fine specimen of a Highlander, and on several occasions led his men to victory against forces that far outnumbered his own. He was the recipient of many honours, was made K.C.B., and had bestowed on him the foreign orders of St Vladimir of Russia and William the Lion of the Netherlands. After long military service he entered Parliament, and died in England in 1835 full of years and honours.

John Cameron of Fassiefern is still remembered in the county as a soldier of renown. He was born at Inverscaddle in Argyleshire in 1771, where his family happened to be

residing, but by clanship and association he must be regarded as an Inverness-shire man. He was brought up at Fassiefern on Locheilside, was educated at the school of Fort William and afterwards at the University of Aberdeen. He was a thorough Highlander, imbued with the spirit of Highland tradition and the achievements of his clan. In 1793 his father purchased for him a commission in the 26th Cameronian Regiment, which he does not appear to have joined; but a year afterwards he entered the Gordon Highlanders, accompanied by a band of Lochaber men. After serving for a time in Ireland he was ordered with his regiment to Holland to form part of the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby, where he was under the command of the famous Sir John Moore. In the battle of Egmont-op-Zee he was wounded. He served in Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby in 1801. After the battle of Mandora he received his majority, and took a conspicuous part in the battle of Alexandria, when he was again wounded. After serving in England and Ireland he took part as lieutenant-colonel in the unfortunate Walcheren expedition. Towards the close of 1810 he joined the British army in the Peninsula at the head of the 92nd, and fought at the battle of Fuentes d'Onor and the capture of Badajos. He shared in the victory at Salamanca in 1812, and afterwards was with Hill's division in the retreat of Burgos, where, he wrote, "he passed through the most wretched and distressing occurrences of his military life."

In command of the first brigade of Hill's division, he took a leading position in the battle of Vittoria, when the French power was broken in Spain. At the Rock of Maya he received three wounds, and for his distinguished conduct was permitted by the king to bear the name "Maya" on his shield. After recovering from his injuries he rejoined his regiment. At its head he was the first to cross the Nivelle when the battle of

that name was fought. In all the battles of this time he and his Highlanders were always to the front. At Aire he so distinguished himself that he was authorised to bear "above the cognisance of Lochiel a representation of the town of Aire, in allusion to his glorious services."

After the Peace of Paris, Cameron returned home with visions of settling down at Fassiefern, but was again called into the field in 1815. At Brussels eight battalions were placed under his command, and he marched to Quatre Bras, where he died "like the offspring of Lochiel." No more gallant soldier ever breathed, and his loss to the army was alluded to in touching terms by the Duke of Wellington in his despatch after Waterloo. As his life-blood was ebbing away he inquired how his beloved Highlanders had acquitted themselves. When he heard they had been victorious, "I die happy," he said, "and trust my dear country will believe that I have served her faithfully." His body was removed to Inverness-shire and buried in the churchyard of Kilmallie, where there are few graves not belonging to the Clan Cameron. His funeral was attended by 3000 Inverness-shire men. His father, in acknowledgment of his son's services, was created a baronet. A monument to this most distinguished soldier was afterwards erected at Kilmallie. On it are written the words of Sir Walter Scott, who more than once alludes to him as the bravest among the brave:—

> "Proud Benevis hears with awe
> How at the bloody Quatre Bras
> Brave Cameron heard the wild hurrah
> Of victory as he fell."

There were two other great soldiers connected with Inverness-shire belonging to the Clan Cameron who emulated in modern times the brave deeds of Sir Ewen of Lochiel. Sir John Cameron was the son of John Cameron of Culchenna, and was

born in 1773. His mind in his early years was filled with recollections of the martial deeds of his clan, and his great desire was to see service in the army. His ancestors had fought on the side of the Stewarts in a cause that had proved hopeless. His one wish was to show equal valour in the ranks of the king's army. A commission was purchased for him in the 43rd Regiment, which he joined in 1787, and from that date his sword was but rarely in its scabbard. His career throughout was an active one. In the expedition of Sir Charles Grey he took part in the capture of the islands of Martinique, St Lucia, and Guadaloupe. In the Peninsular campaign he saw much fighting. He was at the battle of Vimiera, fought in the advance to Salamanca, and took part in the retreat of Corunna. In the Walcheren expedition he was at the head of the first battalion. He distinguished himself in a marked way at the battle of Busaco, of Fuentes d'Onor, and in the sieges of Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, San Sebastian, and Bayonne. He was one of the most trusted officers in the British army. He fully maintained the character of the Clan Cameron given to them by an ancient writer as "the fiercest among the fierce." He received many honours. In 1815 he was one of the first on whom the title K.C.B. was conferred. He was a Knight also of the Tower and Sword of Portugal. In more peaceful times he commanded in Canada and elsewhere. He was lieutenant-general in 1837. He handed on his military genius to his son, Sir Duncan Cameron, who fought at the head of the Black Watch at Balaclava, and afterwards commanded the Highland Brigade in the Crimea.

The other Cameron, Sir Alexander of Inverailort, was born in 1781, and, like the two former warriors we have mentioned, maintained on many a hard-fought field the reputation of his ancestors. After serving in the Breadalbane Fencibles and the

92nd Highlanders, he became lieutenant in the Rifle Brigade, and was present at the taking of Copenhagen. Afterwards he took part in hard fighting with his old regiment the 92nd in Egypt, when he was severely wounded. Like those Inverness-shire men whom we have noticed, he achieved great distinction in the Peninsular war. He was at the battle of Vimiera, took part in the retreat of Sir John Moore, and fought bravely at Corunna. Cameron was always to the front. On one occasion he held a bridge with only two companies against the French army until he received assistance. Many similar and equally gallant deeds are credited to him. During the siege of Torres Vedras he was in responsible command. At the siege of Almeida, the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, at Ciudad Rodrigo, at Badajos, Salamanca, and Vittoria, he and his Rifles were always in advance. At the last engagement he was severely wounded and had to return home. When the war broke out in 1815 he went to Belgium. He was in the thick of the fight at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, where he was again wounded. His latter years were spent peacefully among his native hills. He was made K.C.B. in 1838, and attained the rank of lieutenant-general. At Inverailort "the General," as he was always called, passed his last days, honoured and respected. He died there 26th July 1850. The eulogium passed upon him by a great military authority was a very high one. He was "one of the best officers ever trained by Moore and employed by Wellington."

The fighting clan of Glengarry have sent many brave men into the army, but none more distinguished than Sir James Macdonnell, the third son of Duncan Macdonnell the chief. He entered the service in 1793. In 1795 he was captain in the 17th Dragoons. In 1804 a second battalion was formed for the 78th Ross-shire Buffs, and he was appointed one of the majors. He served with this battalion in Naples, Sicily, and

the descent on Calabria in 1806, and took part in the battle of Mandora and in the expedition to Egypt in 1807. Here he distinguished himself by capturing a Turkish battery at Alexandria. It was a gallant affair, and marked Macdonnell as a daring officer. He became colonel of the 78th in 1809. In 1811 he exchanged into the Coldstream Guards, and served with them in the Peninsula. He fought at Salamanca, Vittoria, Nivelle, and Nive, and was made C.B. in 1815. His great achievement, for which he is honourably mentioned in military annals, was performed on the night before Waterloo, and notably contributed to the success of the famous battle. With some regiments he obtained possession under heavy fire of the chateau of Hougomont, the key to the French position, and held it with great determination. For this deed of arms he received the approbation of Wellington. At one time, when the French were making their way into the courtyard of the chateau, the brave Glengarry man, with the help of some soldiers, closed the gates against the enemy by sheer physical strength. In peaceful times he served in Ireland and in Canada. He became lieutenant-general in 1854, was made G.C.B. in 1855, and died in 1857.

These military heroes of our county achieved their fame in the Napoleonic wars. The one we are about to notice showed in more modern times that he was equally animated by the spirit of his race. Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C., K.C.B., K.S.I., was born at Ardersier in 1827, of a distinguished military family. He received his education at the Nairn Academy, and in 1845 obtained a commission in the 78th Regiment, of which his father had at one time been in command. He was engaged in the Persian war, 1856-57, under Sir James Outram, and also during the Indian Mutiny, when by his brave conduct at the relief of Lucknow he won the Victoria Cross. When his regiment was ordered home he exchanged into the Bengal Staff Corps, and commanded

a Goorkha regiment and saw much service in the Looshai expedition. At the first advance into Afghanistan he commanded a brigade under Sir Samuel Brown, and so distinguished himself that he was made C.B. He achieved great fame by his conduct in the Khyber Pass, and was with General Roberts in his march to Candahar. For his services in this campaign he was made K.C.B., and on his return to Inverness-shire he received the freedom of the burgh of the county. In the Egyptian campaign under Wolseley he took a prominent part, especially in the famous battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and for his services there and many gallant actions was created Knight of the Star of India. On his return home he received an ovation from his fellow-countymen in Inverness-shire. He was entertained at a public banquet and presented with a Highland claymore. In 1886 he, on his return to India, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Presidency of Madras; and after the first expedition to Burmah had failed, he was sent to that country at the head of a large force to bring about its settlement. With a large flotilla of boats he ascended the river Irawaddy. At Mandalay on the river he contracted fever and had to return to Rangoon. He died on board the steamer by which he was being brought back, on 20th October 1886. His life from first to last was one succession of gallant deeds. Without influence or fortune he reached the front rank of the British army. He was beloved by those who served under him, and in the words of Sir Garnet Wolseley was regarded "as a pillar of strength to any army with which he may be connected." He was as fine a specimen of a Highland soldier as our county ever produced.

Two notices of men who were non-combatants, but who yet distinguished themselves in connection with the army, may conclude this chapter.

Sir James MacGregor, Bart., M.D., was born at Lethendry,

in Strathspey, and was educated as a doctor in the University of Aberdeen. He joined the army as a surgeon, and saw much military service in various parts of the globe, especially in the Peninsular campaign. His eminence as an army medical officer caused him to be appointed afterwards Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and finally Director-General of the Army Medical Department. In this high office he gained great reputation for his zeal and administrative ability. He was in high favour with the Duke of Wellington, and with the officers charged with the administration of the different military departments. Numerous honours were conferred upon him. He was made a Knight Commander of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, and was permitted by the sovereign to wear the Turkish Order of the Crescent for the part he bore in the Egyptian campaign. In 1831 he was created a baronet, and in 1850 was invested with the Order of a Knight Commander of the Bath. After fifty-seven years spent in active employment he died at London in 1858.

John Cameron was a native of Inverness, and of the family of Kinlochiel. He was a bank clerk in the county town; afterwards he went out to India, where he was in the employment of a mercantile firm in Bombay. He soon began to contribute articles to the 'Bombay Gazette,' and was for a time acting editor of that paper. The Afghan War of 1879 required a special correspondent in the field for the 'Bombay Gazette,' and Cameron accompanied the first campaign in the expedition to Kabul. His letters, from their great descriptive power, attracted much attention; and in the following year, on the renewal of the Afghanistan War, he joined, as correspondent of the London 'Standard,' the column for the relief of Candahar. Journeying night and day, he reached Quetta in seven days after leaving Bombay, having ridden up the Bolan Pass from Lebe in thirty-six hours.

He was the first to ride with the news of General Roberts's victory to the nearest telegraph-post, beating his competitors and the Government couriers by a day and a half. Then, returning with great rapidity to Candahar, he accompanied the first party who went out to the battle-field of Maiwand, and sent home a description of the scene and the fighting which established his reputation as one of the best journalists of his class. Soon after his return to Bombay the Transvaal War broke out. He at once crossed to Natal, arriving there before correspondents from England could reach the spot. He was present at the battles of Laing's Nek and Ingogo, and at the fatal fight on Majuba Hill, when he was knocked down and taken prisoner by the Boers, but contrived on the following day to send home his account of the battle. After peace was concluded in the Transvaal he came to England, but in June 1882 left for Egypt, and was present at the bombardment of Alexandria. He continued with the British forces, describing every engagement that took place with his graphic pen. After service as a journalist in Madagascar and Tonquin, he heard on his way home from the latter place of the threatening of Suakin by the forces of Osman Digna. Leaving his ship at Suez, he made his way to Suakin and accompanied the British expeditionary force, witnessing and describing the battles of El Teb and Tamanieb. After a few weeks' stay in England he started once more for Egypt, and pushed up the Nile with the advanced boats of Lord Wolseley's expedition. On the 19th January 1885 he was shot in the Arab attack on Sir Herbert Stewart's advanced brigade on the march from Abu Klea. His death was much lamented both in journalistic and military circles. He was a true Highlander, as brave as he was clever, fearless of danger, and full of pride in his profession. Such as he maintain, even in our time, the martial spirit by which Inverness-shire men in all periods of

our county's history have been animated. It must be confessed, however, that much of that spirit has now died out. There are not many Inverness-shire men at present in the ranks of the army, though there are still some who keep up the fighting name of their forebears. The crofter will readily serve in the militia, but he holds aloof from the regular army. The recruiting parties that pass with pipes playing through our glens find few to follow them. Few indeed of the clansmen are there, and those few are not like their progenitors, who were men of war "from their youth upwards."

CHAPTER XV.

CHANGES IN THE COUNTY AND AMONG ITS PEOPLE—RENTS OF THE TACKSMEN RAISED — LARGE NUMBERS LEAVE INVERNESS-SHIRE FOR THE COLONIES—PROGRESS OF THE PROCESS OF DEPOPULATION—THE STRONG TIDE OF EMIGRATION TO AMERICA—GOVERNMENT INDUCED TO TRY TO STOP IT—SEND MR TELFORD, ENGINEER, TO REPORT ON THE BEST MEASURES TO BE TAKEN—HIS RECOMMENDATIONS—STRONGLY ADVISES GIVING THE PEOPLE WORK IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND A CANAL—CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND MAKING OF THE CALEDONIAN CANAL BEGUN IN 1804—THE DIFFERENT LINES OF ROADS DESCRIBED, AND THEIR COST — THE EXCAVATING OF THE CANAL — DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK — IMPEDIMENTS SURMOUNTED — OPENING OF THE NEW WATERWAY—ITS COST—THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS TO INVERNESS-SHIRE OF THESE UNDERTAKINGS—INCREASE IN THE VALUE OF PROPERTY—THE TOWN OF INVERNESS MAKES A NEW START — A GREAT RECORD OF IMPROVEMENT—THE GREAT WOOL FAIR ESTABLISHED—EMIGRATION NOT STOPPED BY THE GOVERNMENT WORKS—PERIOD OF SHEEP-FARMING BEGINS — LANDLORDS BEGIN TO EVICT — DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE EARLIER AND LATER EMIGRATIONS—THE GLENGARRY EVICTIONS—THE COUNTRY SWEPT BARE OF THE INHABITANTS — A TRAGIC STORY AT BEST.

WHILE men from every part of Inverness-shire were embodied in the military forces of the country, and many of them were gallantly fighting in distant lands, a great change was taking place among the people at home. As we have already noticed, society in Inverness-shire and the Highlands generally was divided into three great classes. First there were the landowners or superiors, then the tacksmen or wadsetters, and lastly the subtenants holding their lands from the middlemen and paying them their rent. These subtenants corresponded

to the crofters of the present day. The laird received his rent from the middleman, and could depend on his service in time of war. He was generally an officer of the clan, and in most cases also a relative of the landowner. He lived in considerable comfort, and drew rents from the subtenants.

With the opening up of the country and the consequent rise in the price of cattle the landlord began to improve his position, either by increasing the rents of the tacksman, or by dispensing with him altogether and drawing his rents directly from the subtenants. Wadsets were in many cases redeemed, while leases as they expired were not renewed. Thus the middlemen were obliged to find a new home for themselves. They emigrated in large numbers to America and elsewhere, taking with them in most cases many of those of the humbler class who had hitherto been their dependants and followers. This emigration on the part of the latter was not in consequence of what in our day is termed "eviction." It was spontaneous, and was stoutly opposed at first by the lairds. But it was widespread, whole districts were depopulated, and sheep-farmers from the South began to take possession of the vacated lands. Where they appeared on the scene most of the small tenants who had not emigrated were forced to remove to the seashore, to take refuge in the towns and villages, or to follow their former neighbours to other lands.

The process of depopulation began as early as 1759, when many from the western parts of Inverness-shire emigrated to North Carolina. That province became so thoroughly Celtic in some of its parts that many of the negroes acquired Gaelic and attended the ministrations of the Gaelic-speaking ministers. It is said that one of the early emigrants, being addressed on arriving in Gaelic by a black man, exclaimed in tones of horror in the same language, "God of grace! will we all become like him?"

As time went on, other districts besides North Carolina were chosen by the departing Inverness-shire Highlanders for their new home. In 1773 a newspaper informs us that three gentlemen of the name of Macdonnell, with their families and 400 Highlanders from Glengarry, Glenmoriston, Glenurquhart, and Strathglass, embarked for America, having obtained a grant of land in Albany. In the same year a vessel left Fort William for America with 425 men, women, and children from Knoydart, Lochaber, Appin, Mamore, and Fort William. A few days previous to their departure 250 emigrants sailed from Fort George, and 308 of the Macdonnells of Glengarry embarked at Fort William for America. The son of The Glenaladale, who had been out in the '45, sold his lands, and with his tenantry set out for Prince Edward's Island. In 1786 a devoted priest, the Rev. Alexander Macdonald, of the family of Scotos, who had laboured in Canada, reached Quebec with a party of nearly 600 men from the Glengarry estate. Later on they were followed by many others from the same district, and founded a new Glengarry in Upper Canada, calling their farms by the names of places in the old glen. In 1801 three vessels left the west coast for Pictou with 799 emigrants from the Aird, Strathglass, Urquhart, Glengarry, Knoydart, Arisaig, Moidart, and Lochaber. In 1803 eleven vessels left different ports for the same destination.

These statistics are sufficient to show how strongly the tide of emigration flowed from the North of Scotland to the American continent towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. This nomadic movement was viewed by many with alarm. That patriotic body the Highland Society of London took into careful consideration the process of depopulation, and by their influence the Government were induced to take steps to stay if possible—we quote from the report of a committee of the House of Commons—"that

emigration which will deprive the country of its hardiest and bravest protectors, who have distinguished themselves most conspicuously on sea and land." The first proceeding of the Government was to appoint Mr Telford, the celebrated engineer, to report on the state of the Highlands, to ascertain the causes of emigration and the means of preventing it, and the best methods of opening up and improving the country. Accordingly Mr Telford came down to the North, and in 1803 he made a very complete and exhaustive report. He amply corroborates what we have said as to the extensive emigration. About 3000 persons, he tells us, had left the Highlands in 1802, and three times that number were preparing to go in the year in which he writes. The most powerful cause of emigration, in his opinion, was "the converting large districts of the country into extensive sheep-walks. This not only requires much fewer people to manage the same tract of country, but in general an entirely new people who have been accustomed to this mode of life have been brought from the southern part of Scotland."

Mr Telford, however, enters with considerable hesitation on the question of whether Government should interfere to prevent emigration. He states the two views on the subject with which we are familiar at the present day, but is particularly careful not to state his own. On the one hand, he points out that it is the interest of the empire that this district be made to produce as much human food as it is capable of doing at the least possible expense, and this may be done by stocking it chiefly with sheep; and though some temporary inconveniences may arise, yet upon the whole matters will in the end adjust themselves. On the other hand, he points out that it is a great hardship, if not a great injustice, that the inhabitants of an extensive district should all at once be driven from their native country to make way for sheep-farming, which is

likely to be carried on to an imprudent extent; that in a few years this excess will be evident, but before it is discovered the country will be depopulated, and the race of people which has maintained so honourable a share in the operations of our armies and navies will be no more. Having stated these opposite views temperately enough, he presses upon the Government a project about which there could, he thought, be no dispute. Public works would prove beneficial to the country whether it was to be inhabited by men or by sheep. If anything could stop emigration, plenty of work at home would do so. The building of bridges, the making of roads, and, above all, the construction of the Caledonian Canal, which had often been projected, would give employment to large numbers of people, and would accomplish "all the leading objects which can reasonably be looked forward to for the improvement and future welfare of the country."

It was fortunate for our shire that Mr Telford's practical suggestions commended themselves to the Government. In 1804 the construction of the Highland roads and bridges and of the Caledonian Canal was begun simultaneously. General Wade had done much for Inverness-shire in the way of road-making, but Mr Telford and his subordinates far excelled that celebrated officer. Main lines of roads were successively constructed, branching westward at right angles to the great Caledonian Glen, from Fort William to Arisaig on the west coast, from Invergarry through Glengarry to Loch Hourn head on the west, and from Invermoriston through Glenmoriston to Glenshiel and Loch Duich. On the east side of the Caledonian Glen a line of road was constructed from Fort William up Loch Laggan side to join the military road at Pitmain; also a road from Grantown on the east side of the Spey, with a new iron bridge across the river at Craigellachie. On the east side of Loch Ness a

line of road was made through Inverfarigaig, and the Highland road was altered and a new road constructed from Moy to Inverness and from Inverness to Dingwall, with a branch from Beauly up the valley of Strathglass.

The traveller who is smoothly carried along these splendid highways can have little idea of the cost and labour expended in constructing them. The works were spread over a wide extent of country where there were no inns or habitations of any kind, and where those engaged were exposed to a rude and boisterous climate. The cost was great. The expenditure on new roads and bridges amounted to £540,000, of which £267,000 was furnished by the Government, the balance being contributed by the counties and by individuals. Of this sum a goodly portion came to Inverness-shire. The work of construction went on for about seventeen years, and in 1821 it was brought to a close. The benefit to the country has been incalculable.

The feasibility of making a canal through the Great Glen of Albyn and uniting the Moray Firth with Loch Linnhe had often been discussed before Telford took the matter in hand. A famous Highland seer in the beginning of the seventeenth century is said to have prophesied, "The time will come, and it is not far off, when full-rigged ships will be sailing eastward and westward by Muirton and Tomnahurich." Mr Burt in his famous Letters, in describing the Great Glen and its chain of lakes, alludes to the possibility of a canal being some day constructed. To him it seemed "an incredible expense to cut fourteen navigable miles in so rocky a country"; and there was, to his mind, even a stronger objection than the expense: "The whole opening lies in so direct a line, and the mountains that bound it are so high; the wind is confined, as it were, in the nozzle of a pair of bellows, so that, let it blow from what quarter it will without the opening, it never

varies much from east to west. This would render navigation so precarious that hardly any would venture on it." Mr Pennant also in his 'Tour' decides against the possibility of the undertaking: "It is supposed to be practicable, but at a vast expense—at an expense beyond the power of N. Britain to effect, except it could realise those sums which the wishes of a few of its sons had attained in idea." The doubters, however, had little conception of the marvels which modern engineering, backed by the resources of the national Exchequer, are capable of effecting.

Mr Telford and a gentleman associated with him, Mr William Jessop, began their work in 1804 and prosecuted it vigorously to its close. It was proposed by Mr Telford that the intended canal should be formed of a size to admit the largest class of British and American traders, or such as on occasions of emergency a 32-gun frigate fully equipped could pass along. In order that this might be done, it was contemplated that a uniform depth of 20 feet of water would be necessary, with locks measuring 170 feet long by 40 feet in width. Mr Telford's estimate for executing the work on this scale amounted to no more than £350,000, and the period of its completion was computed at seven years.

The length of the canal is sixty miles forty chains, of which forty miles are lakes. The summit level of Loch Oich, the central lake, is 100 feet above the sea at high-water mark at Inverness and Fort William. The canal was constructed 110 feet wide at top and 50 feet at bottom, with a permanent depth of 20 feet of water throughout, having a basin of 20 acres in extent at Inverness, with storage and warehouse accommodation. The summit level is passed by the construction of twenty-eight locks 170 feet, and, when two or more are contiguous, 180 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 28 feet deep.

The difficulties experienced by the constructors were great, and it was only by skill and perseverance that they were finally overcome. Perhaps the chief difficulty was the regulating and controlling the great rivers and innumerable streams that pour into the three lakes forming part of the waterway. The drainage area extends to about 1200 square miles of mountainous country, with extended valleys like that of Glengarry, containing vast lakes to the right and left of it. From these valleys at times heavy floods come down with terrible violence. These water-courses had to be controlled and regulated, and to do so required no small foresight and calculation.

Loch Lochy, ten miles long, had to be raised permanently 9 feet, and a new passage for the river cut through the solid rock. Loch Oich, three and three-quarter miles, and Loch Dochfour, had to be dredged and made of the required depth of 20 feet. At the west end a large stream had to be brought under the canal by three arches. Inlets and outlets for streams had to be constructed at different parts. Great embankments and cuttings had often to be made in mossy and gravelly ground, and the difficulty of rendering them water-tight in the gravelly and sandy soil peculiar to some of the localities was very great. At Fort Augustus the gravel was found to be so open that the lock, which was to be 24 feet under the loch-level, was impossible, and the river had to be diverted and the canal locks built on the rocks where the river formerly ran.

The construction of the locks, particularly at the entrance to the sea and the lakes, was a matter of considerable difficulty. At the western end the lock was formed by a coffer-dam on the solid rock, so as to give the clear waterway of 20 feet throughout the canal. About two miles from this entrance a series of nine locks was constructed, elevating the canal 72 feet in height, which Telford christened "Neptune's

Staircase," and which still bears that name. The most difficult feat of all was the construction of the sea-lock at Inverness. To obtain the required depth of 20 feet at all times, it had to be extended into the sea about 900 yards; and there, on an artificial mound over a bed of mud 60 feet deep, it was founded and built.

These technical engineering details, for which we are chiefly indebted to the late Mr Joseph Mitchell, C.E., who was closely connected with the work, may serve to show how much of skill and patient labour were expended on it. The expense far exceeded the original estimate. An enormous rise, owing to the war with France, had taken place in the prices of all descriptions of commodities as well as of food, and consequently of labour and workmanship. From the year when the canal works were commenced to the years 1812 and 1813 the difference in many articles had increased to 50, 70, and even 100 per cent. Labourers, whose wages in 1803 were from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. per day, received in 1814 2s. 4d. and 2s. 6d. Native timber rose from 10d. to 14d. per foot, and finally to 3s. 6d. per cubic foot; Baltic timber from 2s. 6½d. to 7s.; oak from 5s. to 10s. and 12s. This rise immensely increased the cost of the undertaking.

Another source of unlooked-for expenditure is to be attributed to the great extent of dredging, a process hitherto untried on so large a scale. It was on the Caledonian Canal that steam-power was first applied to this operation. The excavation of Loch Oich in particular was most difficult, from the vast number of oak-trees, some of them 10 feet to 12 feet diameter, that had in the course of ages been carried down by the river Garry and were embedded in the bottom of the lake, forming a network of trees and branches difficult to penetrate.

Many unforeseen difficulties occurred to prevent the canal

being opened until several years after the time originally contemplated. The first passage from sea to sea was accomplished in a steamboat on the 23rd and 24th October 1822 in thirteen hours. On this occasion a large party of county magnates —the magistrates of Inverness and others—made the voyage. The vessel started amid music and the firing of guns. A grand display took place in Lochaber. "A large bonfire was lit, and a plentiful supply of whisky was given by the gentlemen of Fort William, who with genuine Highland enthusiasm prolonged the festivities of that memorable evening."

Though the canal was opened for traffic in 1822, it was by no means completed. Up to that time the cost had been £645,000. It was not till 1843 that the work was really finished as it stands to-day. The disbursements in connection with the undertaking had then reached the enormous sum of £1,300,000, while the whole revenue up to that date was only about £80,000.

Though the canal had been by no means a profitable undertaking so far as shown in the profits reaped by the Government, it certainly benefited the Highlands generally. Relays of nearly 3000 Highlanders received employment during the time of its construction. The making of the roads, which went on at the same time, must have given occupation to probably as many more. The lairds who owned the lands through which the canal passed received considerable sums of money.

The results of these great undertakings were well summarised in a report to Government in 1828 by Mr Joseph Mitchell, who with his father had taken a chief part in carrying on the works. He shows that a great change had been already effected in the North, and especially in Invernessshire, perhaps unparalleled in the same space of time in the history of any country. Before the commencement of the

present century no public coach or regular vehicle of conveyance existed in the Highlands. In the year 1800 it had been attempted to establish coaches between Inverness and Perth, and between Inverness and Aberdeen; but from the state of the roads at that period, and the little intercourse that then took place, it had been necessary to discontinue them after a short trial. It was not until 1806 and 1811 that coaches were regularly established in these directions. After the completion of the parliamentary works, they began to run from and to Inverness with great frequency. Forty-four coaches arrived at, and the same number departed from, Inverness every week. Postchaises and other modes of travelling increased proportionally. Instead of five postchaises, which was the number kept in Inverness about the year 1803, there were in 1828 upwards of a dozen, besides two establishments for the hire of gigs and horses, all of which found sufficient employment.

The number of private carriages at Inverness and its vicinity increased. In 1715 the first coach or chariot seen in Inverness is said to have been brought by the Earl of Seaforth, and was an object of wonder and veneration to the inhabitants. In 1760 the first postchaise was brought to Inverness, and was the only four-wheeled carriage in the district. Soon after the roads were finished there were four manufactories for coaches in the burgh.

With facilities for travel, inns were established on all the principal roads, and in the remotest parts of the county the traveller found accommodation and the means of continuing his journey. Regular carriers for the conveyance of goods passed at all seasons of the year from one place to another. A postal service reaching to the extremes of the county was also established.

A great increase in the value of property took place almost

immediately on the completion of these improvements. In Inverness and its vicinity the increase was in several cases tenfold. The lands of Markinch, situated between the town and the canal, were rented at the beginning of the century for £70 and £80; in 1828 their rental amounted to £600. The estates of The Chisholm rose from £700 in 1785 to £5000 per annum. When the chief of Glengarry died in 1788 his yearly income did not exceed £800; the same lands in 1828 yielded from £6000 to £7000 a-year.

The town of Inverness specially benefited by the works completed by the Government. It received an impetus to its prosperity the force of which has not yet slackened. The prosperity of the burgh may be said to date from 1785, when Mr Inglis, the provost, a man of ability and public spirit, carried out improvements of considerable importance, tending much to the wellbeing and civilisation of the people. In 1791 the Royal Academy was erected by voluntary subscription, many sons of Inverness in the colonies contributing large sums. In the same year the gaol was built at an expense of £3350, a theatre was erected, and the streets were paved.

Steamboat communications were established between Inverness and the west coast and Glasgow, as well as between Inverness and Leith on the east coast. "The increasing wants of the inhabitants of Inverness," says Mr Mitchell in 1825, "sufficiently prove their increasing wealth. Since their closer connection with the southern counties a rapid change has taken place in the general state of society. The manufacture of hempen and woollen cloths was commenced, churches and chapels of various sects were built, Missionary and Bible Societies established, schools endowed, an infirmary erected, reading-rooms established, subscription libraries set on foot, two newspapers instituted weekly, and

a horticultural, a literary, and various other professional and philanthropical institutions were founded. Two additional banks were likewise instituted, three iron-foundries and three rope and sail manufactories commenced, an additional bridge was constructed, the harbour was enlarged and improved, the town was lighted with gas, and all within the last twenty-five or thirty years."

This is a great record, and shows a wonderful change in the brave little burgh from the time when Col of the Cows threatened it with destruction. It shows also how the opening up of the country, and the bringing North and South into close connection, had proved a source of wealth. One item of improvement is specially noticed in the report to which we have been referring: "In no instance is the benefit arising from facility of communication more apparent than in the establishment in 1817 of the great annual sheep and wool market at this central point of the Highlands, to which all the sheep-farmers resort from the remotest parts of the country. Here the whole fleeces and sheep of the north of Scotland are generally sold or contracted for in the way of consignments, and in 1818 upwards of 100,000 stones of wool and 150,000 sheep were sold at very advanced prices. This circumstance affords a striking proof of the advantage of lines of communication in facilitating the exportation and sale of the staple commodities of the country."

The great works of the Government certainly brought wealth to Inverness-shire and to its capital, but they had not the result their construction was primarily intended to produce. They were undertaken principally to prevent the depopulation of the country, and that they certainly did not do. They scarcely retarded it at all. While the roads were being made and the canal was being dug the hive still continued to swarm, and vessels came to western lochs and to the Moray

Firth and spread their sails with their living freight for lands beyond the sea.

It is probable, indeed, that the wealth the public works brought into the country, and the employment they gave the inhabitants, would have in the end induced the people to remain at home, and might have stemmed the outgoing tide had not other forces come into operation. The landlords began to compel the people to go, and the period of evictions began. The early emigrants were in many instances men of means. They emigrated with the view of acquiring a position of independence abroad which they did not expect to obtain at home. The outgoing band was generally headed by a man in whom they had confidence. Many of them went to join colonies of friends and relations on the other side of the Atlantic. They were buoyant with hope. The earlier emigrations were to a certain extent comparatively cheerful. When Glengarry tried to keep his people at home, the poet Burns denounced him as a tyrant, and the Highland Society as in league with Beelzebub in preventing the people from making their escape from the slavery of their lords and masters. Those who left Inverness-shire in those days went forth bravely in search of freedom and independence. But the later emigrants had none of the spirit and the enthusiasm of the pioneers. They were the crofters whom the tacksmen had left behind, who were dependent directly on the laird, and when he forced them to emigrate they left their native land with heavy hearts.

We are not called, fortunately, to write in full the final clearing out of the Inverness-shire people from their native glens. It is a painful story, and it would be painful to narrate it. The Glengarry evictions in 1853 are still fresh in the remembrance of many. The estate was possessed by a minor, and his mother, the widow of the late chief, who managed it,

determined to evict every crofter on her property and make room for sheep. They were all served with summonses of removal, a message being sent to them that they would be conveyed to Australia. Finally, as it was not convenient to transport them to that country, they were told that they would be taken to North America. Scenes of the most heartrending description ensued. Some who refused to go had their houses burnt and levelled to the ground; no mercy whatever was shown them. Whole families were left exposed to the weather without shelter of any kind. The district they inhabited is to-day to a large extent a wilderness where only sheep and wild animals are to be met with, with the few keepers and shepherds needful for their management.

Other evictions took place—unaccompanied, so far as we know, by the cruelty inflicted on the people of Glengarry. At one time only two of the ancient native stock remained in possession of an inch of land on the estate of Chisholm, which in the olden days was the abode of a numerous clan. In 1849 more than 500 souls left Glenelg at once. Glen Dessary and Loch Arkaig side were swept bare. So the clearing of the glens went on, and sheep took the place of men over a wide district of Inverness-shire.

It is not for us, who are not writing philosophy or political economy but history, to moralise on this great change. Undoubtedly there is something tragic in the story. It may be true that the people could not exist in comfort in their own wilds, and were subject to periodic visitations of famine, and that in other lands those who emigrated have found ample means of sustenance, and in many cases have exchanged poverty for wealth; but it must be remembered that it was not to promote their comfort that they were sent away, but too often to satisfy the greed of those who dispossessed them, and in not a few instances they were evicted from

lands fertile enough to have sustained them in comparative comfort.

The few of the original stock of Inverness-shire peasantry, descendants of the old clans, who still remain as crofters, have had much done for them in our own time, and legislation has ameliorated their condition and given them security in their holdings. On many estates they are treated with kindness, and derive a comfortable subsistence from their industry. But those one sees to-day are only the fag-end, the poor remnants of a great people, the vestiges of a soldier race for ever passed away. Political economy has been sarcastically termed "the dismal science." If it be invoked to defend what has been done in Inverness-shire its dismalness appears to be beyond a doubt.

CHAPTER XVI.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS OF THE COUNTY—HIGHLAND FARMING IN THE OLDEN TIME—THE MONKS OF BEAULY AND THEIR CIVILISING INFLUENCE—THE PEAR-TREE IN THEIR GARDEN—THE PEASANT A SOLDIER, NOT AN AGRICULTURIST—CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT IN THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY—COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF THE COUNTY BY DR JAMES ROBERTSON FOR THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE—HIS REPORT TO BE DEPENDED ON—DISCUSSES THE POSSIBILITY OF CULTIVATING THE MOORS—CERTAIN MOORLANDS SPECIFIED BY HIM—HIS ESTIMATE OF THE PROPRIETORS—THE LAND-TENURES EXISTING—THE HOUSES OF THE PROPRIETORS AND FARMERS—THE METHODS OF FARMING—RUNRIG—OUTFIELD AND INFIELD—FOUR CLASSES OF FARMERS—THE MORAL CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE—THE RENTS PAYABLE BY TENANTS—THE RELIEF OF THE POOR AND ABSENCE OF POOR-RATES—THE IMPLEMENTS OF HUSBANDRY—THE CROPS CULTIVATED—PLANTING OF TREES—SHEEP-BREEDING—THE KELP INDUSTRY—THE VILLAGES—CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM DR ROBERTSON'S REPORT—HIS REPORT CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF MR MACDONALD IN 1872—GENERAL PROGRESS AND INCREASE IN RENTAL—INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF GOOD STEADINGS—CHARACTER OF THE LEASES GIVEN—IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS—EXTENSION OF PLANTATIONS—FAILURE OF KELP—ESTABLISHMENT OF POOR-RATES—THE CROPS PRINCIPALLY CULTIVATED—INCREASE OF DEER FORESTS—PRESENT VALUE OF PROPERTY.

PROGRESS IN THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE—EDUCATION IN THE OLDEN TIME—IMMENSE IMPROVEMENT CAUSED BY THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1872—NEW BUILDINGS AND GOVERNMENT GRANTS—SECONDARY EDUCATION—GREAT PROGRESS OF ENLIGHTENMENT IN MODERN TIMES—THE MORALITY OF THE PEOPLE SHOWN BY THE RETURNS OF THE REGISTRAR-GENERAL—THEIR ATTENTION TO RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

INVERNESS-SHIRE can hardly be said, either in past or present times, to take a high place as regards agriculture. In its population it stands as about the tenth county in Scotland, and it is doubtful whether its agricultural produce would

entitle it to a higher position. Yet agriculture has made considerable progress in Inverness-shire since the beginning of the present century, and especially since the making of the Caledonian Canal and those roads spoken of in our last chapter. Of that progress it is right something should here be said.

The first Inverness-shire agriculturists were probably the monks of Beauly. The monastic orders devoted much of their time to agriculture. Their lands were always the best tilled in Scotland. The approach to a monastery anywhere in the kingdom could be always traced by the fertile fields around it. The woods, enclosed and protected, were of loftier growth, the meadows and corn-lands better cultivated. The population inhabiting the Church lands were more active, industrious, and prosperous than those on the lands either of the Crown or of the feudal nobility. The monks of Beauly were no exception to the general rule. It was probably to them—to their labours and their teaching—that the neighbourhood of the Priory and the Aird of Inverness-shire owed that beauty and fertility which still distinguish those districts, and which is noticed by our earliest travellers. One of the few traditions of the conventual life on the banks of the Beauly that have come down to us tells of the fame of the brotherhood as horticulturists. They often, it is said, got six chalders of good fruit off their orchard; and the old minister of Kirkhill, writing in 1662, tells us that "he heard old men declare that one tree in the orchard paid the teind—that is, carried ten bolls of pears, which were shaken and measured in pecks and firlots, good ripe fruit." We may be sure that like labour and skill to that with which they tended their apple and pear trees were also spent on the land of which they were the owners.

But though the neighbourhood of the monastery was always

an object-lesson to the rest of the county, it does not seem to have produced much effect. The clansman dwelling among the mountains was certainly no agriculturist. He was a soldier, and the sword came more naturally to his hand than the plough or the reaping-hook. The conditions of his life, not to speak of the character of the soil, prevented him giving much attention to the tillage of the fields. Glenurquhart, like the Aird, was always fertile and cultivated, but other valleys had little in this respect to boast of. A scanty and imperfect cultivation of corn was limited to detached patches of arable ground among the rocks. Cattle were the main resources of the tribe, and the acquisition of these the great object of their forays. Their precarious crops gave them wherewithal to bake their oaten cakes and distil their ale or whisky, and they sought nothing more. Their corn was produced with or without manure, as that could or could not be procured. When the land had been scourged by a repetition of grain crops till it could bear no longer, it was allowed to go waste till it gained what was called *heart* enough to allow it to be cultivated again.

When peaceful times came to Inverness-shire more attention was bestowed on the tillage of the land, and at the beginning of the present century considerable improvement had been made. In 1795 a Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement for Scotland was instituted. In the years immediately succeeding surveys of the different counties were made by competent persons; and in 1813 a very comprehensive report was sent in to the Board and published, giving "a general view of the agriculture of Inverness, with observations on the means of its improvement." The author of this report was the Rev. James Robertson, minister at Callander. He seems to have been as familiar with the processes of agriculture as with the doctrines of theology. He was a practical farmer, well

acquainted with the Highlands, and speaking the Gaelic language. Though his style is somewhat Johnsonian, and his ideas of turning the moors into fertile fields utopian, yet his report, on the whole, may be depended upon. It was evidently the result of careful and personal examination. Dr Robertson visited every part of the county from Fort George to Moidart and Arisaig. He went to most inaccessible places, and on one occasion he and his guide had to sleep all night in pouring rain under the shelter of some friendly rocks. The picture he gives of the agricultural state of the county is not without considerable interest, if only that we may contrast it with the state of things at the present day.

After a general description of the county, its divisions, climate, and soil, Dr Robertson takes up and discusses the possibility of cultivating the moors which have a favourable climate—"the low-lying ground covered with a short heath, which grows upon a thin stratum of peat-earth, with a subsoil of gravel or till." These moors he found both numerous and extensive, and he believed them to be capable of being brought under cultivation. He specifies particularly those on the sides of the Lochy and the Spean rivers; the low ground between Loch Oich and Fort Augustus; at the entrance into Urquhart from Invermoriston; above Loch Meikle in the Braes of Urquhart; at the western entrance into the Aird; betwixt the church of Kiltarlity and the house of Beaufort, a most inviting plot of ground just at the proprietor's door; betwixt Inverness and the nearest end of Loch Ness; in the parish of Croy, the extensive moor of Culloden, and westward to Stratherrick, and many miles in that strath and in Strathnairn. Many of the moors he mentions are now cultivated, others remain still as they were. At Cantray great improvements were already in progress, "affording ocular and decisive evidence of what can be made of such moors, to

what account they may be turned, and what beauty our other black and barren spots may by human industry be made to display." The reporter believed that when rendered productive they would support two-fifths of the present population.

Of the deep mosses that abound in the county he was not so hopeful, though he was sanguine enough to believe that even they might be so treated as to furnish a good return for money laid out upon them; and he mentions the fact that Colonel Fraser of Belladrum had a deep moss at the time under a state of progressive improvement.

Of the proprietors of Inverness-shire he formed a high opinion, both as to their intelligence and their desire to benefit their tenantry: "They were distinguished no less by their improved talents and the politeness of their manners than by the opulence of their fortunes. For the most part they have filled high offices in the army, and now enjoy rural ease, equally respected by their sovereign and beloved by their country. They were full of desire to cultivate and adorn their properties." He divides the proprietors into five classes. There were five with estates exceeding £3000 Scots valuation, three with estates from £1000 to £3000, twelve from £400 to £1000, seventeen from £100 to £400, and seven under £100. This shows that a considerable portion of the county had been broken up into properties of more moderate size than those of the old feudal chiefs, many of whom still continued to reside in the county.

The land-tenures were of three kinds: Baronial rights, which were reserved by ancient families over their vassals under the name of superiorities; twenty-six estates which were held of the Crown, and acknowledged no superiors; and a third class held of a subject upon condition of paying a stipulated feu-duty in money, victual, or other articles. Wadsets, which

at one period were numerous, had become almost extinct, and had been changed into ordinary leases.

The houses of the proprietors were large and elegant, and generally of modern construction; but Castle Grant in Strathspey, and The Chisholm's castle at the confluence of the Glass and the Farrar, were of older date, and instead of being deserted, which is the fate of many others, were in high repair, enlarged and ornamented. The farmhouses and offices were not so admirable. Those dwelling-houses built for gentlemen or the wealthier sort of tenants were well constructed and substantially built, but those of the poorer tenants were in most places "mean beyond description. The inhabitants were too poor for the most part to build them properly, and the landlord cared nothing about the matter, his only object being to gratify the cravings of luxury and to secure his rent."

Wherever good houses were built for the accommodation of the farmer's family, the offices were in the same style of excellence. There was hardly a district of the county where a certain number of these were not to be found, in some more, in others less. The offices attached to the proprietors' houses were for the most part excellent, and those of Newton and Belladrum receive special commendation. Those of the farms were very indifferent. "The fact is," says Dr Robertson, "and it must give pain to a feeling heart, that there is too great an interval between the higher and the lower order of tenantry. The former are very comfortable in all their accommodations, very intelligent in their conversation, polite in their manners, and hospitable in their houses; the latter are deprived of these comforts, but have an understanding to discern and an acuteness to feel their wretchedness, which fills them with anguish."

The methods of farming were not such as generally com-

mended themselves to Dr Robertson. A number of farmers working together about the same ploughgate of land, their houses huddled together in the same group, all their ground in alternate ridges, and their possessions without enclosures, betokened, in his opinion, a low state of agriculture. From this condition the southern counties had emerged, but in Inverness-shire much remained to be done to change this feudal aspect of the county. In many parts the change from alternate ridges, called *runrig*, had only been lately introduced. In some places it had not been yet adopted; and in one district the practice from time immemorial had been for every farmer to hold his share of infield during a very limited period, generally three years, which then passed into the possession of another. The denominations of outfield and infield still prevailed over one-half of the arable land of the county. The outfields were manured by the dung of the cattle confined in folds overnight during the summer and autumn, and then cropped while the land could produce any grain. The infields got all the house-dung, and were cropped alternately with barley and oats, or frequently with two crops of oats after the barley. According to this ancient system all the contiguous tenants of the same landlord used their hill-grass in common through the whole year.

Our agriculturist deeply deplored this primitive system of farming, though it was some comfort to him that in a few districts the "dawn of improvement" had begun to appear. It certainly was very faint yet, but his hope was that when the light of knowledge in rural affairs began to be diffused things might become greatly changed for the better.

There were at this time four classes of farmers in the county. A few, but very few, were technical-bred farmers who had been regularly instructed in farming from their youth,

and who followed no other employment. A second class consisted of gentlemen who had no landed property, but who took farms partly for pleasure and partly for profit. Many of them had been in the army and navy, and wished to pass the remainder of their time in the enjoyment of the pleasures of rural life. The most numerous class by far were those whose fathers and grandfathers for generations followed the plough. Having never left their native country, nor seen the practice of agriculture superior to their own, they seldom or never attempted to improve their farms or amend their circumstances. Besides these classes there were others who possessed an arable farm in one district and a grazing in another. Such men were of an active and enterprising disposition.

Dr Robertson speaks highly of the moral character of the people. It had greatly improved. The crimes of bloodshed, rapine, and plunder carried on during the feuds of former ages were never heard of. The domestic and social virtues were now revered and cultivated by all ranks, and the comforts of life were enjoyed by the higher orders as much as in any country. Even the condition of the lower ranks in these respects was never so happy, "were it not the frenzy which had seized the common people to emigrate." The law was everywhere dominant. Single individuals travelled unarmed in all directions throughout the Highlands to purchase cattle, with thousands of pounds in their pockets, without dread or annoyance.

Rents had risen considerably. Near the county town, where ground was measured and for the most part enclosed, land which was formerly let at £1 sterling per acre yielded a rent of £4. The pasture of a full-grown sheep in the grazing district, which formerly used to be valued at 1s., was estimated at 3s. or 4s. In the best cultivated provinces, from

the head of the Beauly river along the coast to Fort George, the rent of farms in general was from £10 to £200. In some places of Strath Lochy, Glen Spean, and Badenoch, where the arable and grazing systems were combined and the farms extensive, the disproportion in the size of farms was carried a greater length, the rents of the great tacksmen being higher in proportion to that of the small tenants in their neighbourhood. While the former paid from £300 to £500, the rents of the latter ran from £5 to £20.

There was no such thing as poor-rates. The poor were provided for from the charitable collections of the people at church, the interest of sums bequeathed for their use by pious and wealthy persons, occasional donations by benevolent people, certain dues for the proclamation of banns, fines for breaches of decorum, and the charge for use of the mortcloth at funerals. Those funds were managed by the minister of the parish and his elders under the control of the heritors of the parish. The poor had an honest pride and reluctance to accept alms. Many of them preferred to suffer the most terrible distress, to the very danger of perishing, rather than become mendicants. In Dr Robertson's travels through Inverness-shire not more than ten beggars solicited charity from him on the public road.

The duration of leases in the county differed in various districts and estates. Some were of only seven years' duration, while others were prolonged to thirty. Nineteen years was more general than any other term, and that mostly on grazing possessions. The greater part of the small tenants had no leases. The landlords of the estates believed the people would be more submissive in such dependence than if their possessions were warranted by a valid agreement for a term of years.

The implements of husbandry were for the most part of a

primitive character. In the western part of the county the *caschrom*, or spade with the crooked handle, was in general use. Harrows with wooden teeth; cart-wheels unshod with iron; tumblers, *currans* or *currachs*, to carry home corn and hay; baskets for carrying out dung, another kind of basket for carrying home peats; sledges for particular carriages, and many instruments of the same rude construction, were used in various districts of the county. On gentlemen's farms harrows for breaking coarse ground, drill-barrows, threshing-machines, and carts of various construction, might be found; but very few of the common tenantry showed any inclination to adopt the style of dressing their ground which rendered these implements necessary. Horses or oxen were employed promiscuously in the plough; sometimes as many as eight oxen were yoked to one plough.

Potatoes were extensively cultivated, and every householder, from the highest to the lowest orders of the people, had potatoes for his family. On the west coast the seaware was collected most industriously, for the purpose of manuring. Wheat was grown to some small extent, chiefly in the parish of Kirkhill. In the Aird a few beans were cultivated. At Keppoch Mr Macdonald had an excellent crop of peas, and at Aberchalder, near Loch Oich, and in general east from the great valley of the Caledonian Canal except Badenoch, pease constituted a part of the farmer's crop. Barley or bere was generally sown. Of all the grains, oats were by far the most abundant. Flax was not much cultivated except in Badenoch. Turnips were grown, and every person who wished to be thought an improver of land sowed more or less field turnips. Rye was cultivated in a few districts, and the poor, who adhered to old modes of farming, sowed a good deal when they despaired of the land making any return even in oats.

The planting of trees had made great progress. The planted firs and larches of Strathspey, besides the natural firs, were supposed to extend over 7000 acres, and at Kinrara, Invereshie, Belville, Cluny, and other parts of Badenoch, and in many other places, plantations were both extensive and thriving.

Sheep, as we have seen, were largely bred. The old indigenous sheep—small, fine-woolled, and altogether white—were very numerous. Stocks of Cheviot sheep were gaining ground, introduced by the sheep-farmers from the South who had taken up the cleared grounds.

There was no regular deer-forest in all the county when Dr Robertson made his survey, except that of Lochiel. The great forest of Gaick, the property of the Duke of Gordon, had been lately dismantled and turned into a sheep-walk.

Kelp was largely made on the coast, and brought in a large revenue. Public manufactures were inconsiderable. But the domestic manufacture of the county was large. Upwards of 60,000 of the inhabitants qut of a population of 74,000 might be said to be clothed by their home-spun and home-wrought stuffs of various kinds.

The principal village in the county was Maryburgh, or, as it is now called, Fort William. It contained about 2000 souls, and, owing to the dispossession of the people in the adjacent Highlands, its population was growing. The houses were built on feus from the Duke of Gordon, and many of them were two storeys high. The village of Campbeltown, near Fort George, was next in importance. Its population was about 350. Kingussie was a village lately begun in Badenoch, and promised to rise fast into consequence owing to the encouragement given to settlers and "the richness of the adjacent country." A village had also been established at Beauly by Mr Fraser of Lovat. The tenements were not feus,

but given under a contract of thirty-eight years for £2, 8s. of yearly rent. Such villages as these, Dr Robertson hoped, would be largely planted throughout the county, especially along the line of the Caledonian Canal, then being made, and on the coast, where the poorest person able to work for his bread might find an asylum; and he points to the village of Grantown to show what might be effected in this way. In this village were more than 200 families, tradesmen of various kinds, shops well furnished, schools, and a post-office.

Altogether, the impression we derive from the report we have so largely drawn upon is that Inverness-shire, though extremely primitive in regard to its agriculture, was being at the beginning of the present century very considerably improved. Changes of a progressive nature had already commenced. New methods were being imported from the South, and the county was becoming gradually assimilated in regard to agriculture with the rest of Scotland—a process which has gone on from that time to the present day.

It is interesting to contrast a careful report on the agriculture of the county made in our own day with that made in the early days of the century, such as we have had under review. In 1872 the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland published an elaborate essay on the agriculture of Inverness-shire by Mr William Macdonald, a gentleman conversant with such matters. It is quite as carefully done as that by Dr Robertson, and the comparison of the two is instructive. There has been no material change since Mr Macdonald wrote. He shows that agriculture in various ways has made considerable progress in Inverness-shire since the beginning of the present century, and especially since 1845. The population of the county has been on the decrease since 1841, while, on the other hand, the rental has increased immensely. The total rental, which in 1674 was only

£6099, in 1871-72 was £296,353, 18s. 5d. In 1895-96 it was £327,979. This increase, however, has been in great part owing to the large amount of property used for grouse-shootings and deer-forests. The number of landed proprietors had also increased. In 1808 the number of landed proprietors whose rents amounted to £100 and upwards yearly was eighty-three; there are now more than a hundred such landowners in the county.

The most extensive, and at the same time most rugged, mountainous, and unproductive portion of Inverness-shire is still, as it was when Dr Robertson wrote, the district lying to the south-west of the Caledonian Canal. On the parishes of Inverness, Petty, Ardersier, Dores, Kirkhill, Kilmorack, and Kiltarlity, Inverness-shire mainly depends for its agricultural reputation.

Good commodious slated farm-steadings, Mr Macdonald shows, have increased considerably year by year. Offices and houses of modern construction are everywhere taking the place of old hovels. In some cases the tenant has improved his buildings without the assistance of the laird. In the majority of instances the proprietor defrayed the cost, the tenant commonly paying 5 or 6 per cent interest per annum. In the uplands of Inverness-shire the inhabited houses remain still of a primitive nature. In Badenoch, and especially in the Laggan district, not only the huts in which the cattle are sheltered, but also the dwelling-houses of some of the people, are constructed of at least three parts of turf. In the West Highlands it is no rarity to meet with the kitchen, parlour, bedrooms, byre, barn, stable, pigsty, and poultry-house all under one roof and in a very small compass.

Leases have been very generally given since 1830. All except the mere crofters rejoice in the privilege, and some of those on the mainland have received a five, ten, or fourteen

years' lease, and are increasing their cultivated possessions. The most common duration of lease is nineteen years.

The five-shift course of cropping is most common and most popular in the county, though there are rather more leases than there are farmers working the five-shift course. The principal proprietors, as a rule, specify the five-shift course in their leases, but they do not enforce it in every case. When the soil and other circumstances demand a deviation from this rule the landlord sometimes gives way, and allows the tenant to adopt the course which experience points out as the best calculated to secure the heaviest crops without deteriorating the condition of the soil.

In no department of agriculture has Inverness-shire made more progress than in implements for tillage. Twenty-five years before Mr Macdonald's survey there was scarcely what could be called a good plough in the county, there were few grubbers, and not very many drill-ploughs. These and other improved implements are everywhere to be met with. Carts have generally taken the place of the old "back-creels." The number of threshing-machines is every year increasing.

In the lowland and middle parishes of the county much waste land has been brought under cultivation. In 1854 the total arable acreage amounted to 44,242. In 1869 the acreage under all kinds of crop was 80,174; in 1870, 83,061 acres. Surface-draining has been largely executed in Badenoch, Lochaber, Glenelg, Glengarry, and other high parts of the county, with a view to improve the sheep-pasture. Many miles of stone dikes have been erected, chiefly in the lower districts, while wire-fencing is everywhere to be met with.

The planting of trees has gone on rapidly. Since 1845 in Strathspey alone several thousands of acres have been planted. Along the route of the Caledonian Canal, and in

the valleys of Glengarry, Glenurquhart, and Glenmoriston, the landscape has been beautified by large plantations. Between 1845 and 1872 the area planted is estimated at 15,000 acres.

The kelp industry has entirely ceased. It formerly was a source of great wealth to the proprietors of the west coast, and Clanranald is said to have derived an income of £30,000 a-year from the manufacture. Owing to the abolition of the tax on Spanish barilla in 1823 it could no longer be carried on at a profit, and its cessation reduced many of the proprietors from comparative affluence to poverty.

The exaction of poor-rates is another feature in which the Inverness-shire of to-day differs from the Inverness-shire surveyed by Dr Robertson. In all the parishes an assessment is now made for the support of the poor. The average assessment per pound made in 1896 in the parishes was 1s. 7½d. In one of the parishes of the mainland it was as high as 2s. 4d. per pound. The old independent spirit which refused public support is wellnigh extinct. Relief is not received as a gratuity, but claimed as a right.

Wheat is largely sown in the Aird and Beauly districts. The average yield in some of these districts is occasionally 40 bushels per acre. The county also grows good bere and barley, and under these commodities there is more than triple the area that is set down as wheat-producing. As an oat-growing county Inverness-shire has greatly improved, and takes a fair position in Scotland. The area under oats is the largest north of Banffshire. Turnips are generally grown, the area under this crop being about 9 per cent of the ground under rotation. There is no county in Scotland that has a higher percentage of its arable land allotted to potatoes than Inverness-shire.

Great attention has been paid to the breeding of cattle, of

which every variety is to be found within the limits of the county. Sheep-farming has been brought to great perfection, perhaps more than in any other part of Scotland.

There is one great change that has taken place in Inverness-shire since the beginning of the century. Then sheep were taking the place of the inhabitants, but now to a large extent sheep have been dispossessed by deer. The greater part of the hill-grounds of Inverness-shire have been made deer-forests. At the time of Dr Robertson's survey there was, as we have seen, only one regular forest. In the year in which we write there are thirty-nine. In 1871 the approximate yearly rental of the deer-forests on the mainland of Inverness-shire was £12,571. In 1896 it was £37,000. This foresting of the county has immensely increased the value of property; and if it has put money into the pockets of the proprietors, it has also in many ways benefited the people. Into the economic question of sheep *versus* deer we are not called upon to enter.

Whilst in its agricultural affairs Inverness-shire has progressed during the present century, it has specially done so in connection with a cognate subject, the education and general enlightenment of the people. Shaw, the historian of Moray, born upwards of two hundred years ago, and educated at Ruthven, Kingussie, says in his History: "I well remember when from Speymouth (through Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber) to Lorn there was but one school — namely, at Ruthven in Badenoch, and it was much to find in a parish three persons who could read or write." Things were better at the beginning of the present century; for in addition to the ordinary parochial schools, many schools had been planted by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge throughout the county. Still the educational condition of the people was

very backward. In 1826, according to statistics carefully prepared by the "Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor," there were within the bounds of the Presbytery of Inverness 377 families in which no person could read; within those of the Presbytery of Abernethy 59 families; within those of the Presbytery of Abertarff 86. There is probably to-day no person within these districts who cannot read and write.

Educational advance has been gradual. With the exception of the parochial schools, there were previous to 1843 very few schools of an efficient character. Here and there was to be seen the school of a Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, of a Gaelic Society, or other school maintained by the Church, where pupils were taught to read, write, and cipher. Lads desirous of advancing beyond that stage had to attend a parish school, and in order to do that not a few walked great distances, sometimes eight miles, with the usual peat under their arm, which was sorely needed to heat the clay-floored room. A considerable number of teachers were licentiates of the Church, and scholarly men, during the first forty years of the present century. Although unable to instruct satisfactorily all the pupils under their charge—a number which by modern regulations would require two or three teachers — they invariably paid great attention to pupils of "pregnant pairts," not a few of whom went in those days direct from our country parish schools to the universities.

The Disruption of 1843 left a majority of the parish churches vacant. The filling up of these created vacancies in not a few schools, and it was found difficult to supply the places of the teachers who had got parish churches. The result was that men much inferior in scholarship and culture succeeded them, and the cause of education suffered. After the Free Church was supplied with places of worship it com-

menced the erection of school buildings, but unfortunately, in many instances, placed them in the vicinity of the parish schools, and so limited their usefulness.

The passing of the Education Act in 1872 proved a great boon to the county. Schools are now placed within easy reach of most of the children, the few exceptions being the children of shepherds and gamekeepers in the outlying glens. New schools have been built in all the districts of the county, which are a great contrast to those by which they were preceded. We remember a schoolhouse midway between Dalwhinnie and Newtonmore which was in existence thirty years ago, and was a type of many in the county. The walls and roof were formed of turf. The fire was in the centre of the room. There was no chimney. The rents in the walls and a single broken four-paned window competed with a hole in the roof for the exit of the peat-smoke. There was a single desk, at which only three out of twenty pupils could write at a time. Instead of such buildings there are now substantial, well-ventilated schoolrooms, with comfortable dwelling-houses for the teachers, throughout the mainland of Inverness-shire.

Towards the erection of sixty-eight schools and dwellings, containing accommodation for 6103 pupils, £52,471, 14s. 5d. was paid by the Education Department soon after the passing of the Act to the school boards in building grants, a sum equal to £8, 11s. 6d. per sitting. About £20,000 additional was borrowed from the Government for school building purposes at moderate interest, which amount will be almost all repaid—capital and interest—in about fourteen years. The teaching in those schools has been annually improving, and is now, with a few exceptions, excellent. Since the Trust for Education in the Highlands and Islands commenced paying grants of 5s. to teachers for passes made by their senior pupils in Gaelic reading, more attention has been paid to Gaelic in

several of the schools, and a considerable number of the children are now able to read the Scriptures in that language to parents and grandparents who cannot do so themselves.

Secondary education has been greatly encouraged during the last four years by the appointment of Secondary Education or County Committees, and the grants paid by Government to these committees. The scheme of the Inverness-shire County Committee is acknowledged to be one of the best in operation in Scotland, and has worked well to promote the object in view. Besides allowing grants for merit and leaving certificates to the managers of any schools in which these certificates may be gained, it allows grants of £40 to each of the six following schools on the mainland: Fort William, Glenurquhart, Beauly, Abernethy, Gorgask in Laggan, and Kingussie. The last has become famous as a central school in gaining university leaving-certificates, and for the number of pupils it annually sends direct to the Scottish universities.

This chapter has been in the main statistical. What has been said, however, may be sufficient to show that, both in regard to the cultivation of the soil and the cultivation of the mind, much has been effected since the beginning of the century. The Inverness-shire peasant knows how to till his land on the most approved methods, and when his day's toil is over he can improve his mind in a manner utterly unknown to his forefathers. The newspaper published in Glasgow or Edinburgh reaches all except the most outlying parts of Inverness-shire on the same day on which it leaves the press. The crofter in his hut is as conversant with the news of the day and the politics of the time as the laird in his mansion. There are few visitors to the county on purposes either of business or amusement who have not been struck by the intelligence and culture possessed by many in the humblest ranks of its people.

The rural population in Inverness-shire, it may be also added, maintain a high standard so far as morals are concerned, and the quarterly returns of the Registrar-General invariably show the illegitimacy rate in the county to be among the lowest in Scotland. The people are strictly attentive to the outward duties of religion, and are regular in their attendance on its ministrations. In few parts of Scotland are the churches to which the bulk of the people belong—Protestant and Catholic—more regularly attended.

CHAPTER XVII.

DISTINGUISHED MEN OF INVERNESS-SHIRE IN CIVIL LIFE—NOT SO MANY AS IN OTHER COUNTIES, OWING TO THE LONG YEARS OF TURBULENCE THROUGH WHICH OUR COUNTY PASSED—DUNCAN FORBES OF CULLODEN—HIS FAMILY AND EARLY EDUCATION—JOINS THE SCOTTISH BAR—MADE SHERIFF OF MID-LOTHIAN—MARRIES—TAKES THE SIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE RISING IN 1715—PLEADS WARMLY THE CAUSE OF THOSE FORFEITED—RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT FOR THE INVERNESS BURGHS—HIS LITERARY WORKS—APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF SESSION—HIS GREAT INFLUENCE IN BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT IN 1745—HIS EFFORTS UNREWARDED BY THE AUTHORITIES—HIS DEATH—CHARLES GRANT, A STATESMAN AND PHILANTHROPIST—HIS BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS—GOES TO INDIA—HIS CAREER THERE—THE CHARACTER OF HIS POLICY—BECOMES A DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—HIS SERVICES IN ITS BEHALF—HIS ASSOCIATION WITH WILBERFORCE—HIS ENDEAVOURS TO PROMOTE THE WELFARE OF THE HIGHLANDS—HIS DEATH—HIS DISTINGUISHED SONS—THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH—HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION—BECOMES A DOCTOR OF MEDICINE—AFTERWARDS JOINS THE ENGLISH BAR—HIS DEFENCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—BECOMES RECORDER OF BOMBAY—RETURNS HOME AFTER A PERIOD OF SERVICE—ENTERS PARLIAMENT—MADE A PRIVY COUNCILLOR, ALSO A PROFESSOR OF LAW AND LORD RECTOR OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY—HIS LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL CELEBRITY—HIS DEATH—JAMES MACPHERSON, BORN AT RUTHVEN—STUDIES FOR THE MINISTRY—PUBLISHES FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT POETRY—MAKES A JOURNEY OF LITERARY RESEARCH IN THE HIGHLANDS—PUBLISHES 'OSSIAN'—THE GREAT CONTROVERSY THAT ENSUED—MADE GOVERNOR OF PENSACOLA—APPOINTED AGENT FOR THE NABOB OF ARCOT—SETTLES IN BADENOCH—DIES THERE, AND IS BURIED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY—OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEN—THEIR LIVES AND LABOURS SKETCHED—GRANT OF CORRYMONY—FRASER OF REELICK—JOHN F. M'LENNAN—THE LITERARY SPIRIT OF INVERNESS—ROBERT CARRUTHERS AND THE 'INVERNESS COURIER'—MODERN LITERARY MEN OF THE COUNTY—THE GREAT LAWYERS PRODUCED BY IT—ITS THEOLOGICAL POVERTY—DISTINGUISHED CATHOLIC DIVINES.

INVERNESS-SHIRE was for centuries a county of soldiers. With the exception of the peace-loving citizens of the burgh,

few could rise to distinction except in warfare. In other parts of Scotland there were many avenues by which men could attain celebrity. In our county there was but one. It was not till long after 1745, when the last vestiges of the feudal system had passed away, that Inverness-shire men began in any numbers to be distinguished in any profession other than that of arms. Though the county has not for this reason contributed anything like the same proportion of outstanding men to the civil walks of life with some other counties of Scotland, it yet has given some whose names take high place in history, and whose career may be properly noticed in these pages.

Perhaps the greatest man, taking all things into consideration, that Inverness-shire has produced is DUNCAN FORBES of Culloden. Bishop Warburton calls him "one of the greatest men that Scotland ever bred as a judge, a patriot, and a Christian." This is high praise, and justly bestowed. Forbes exercised much influence in his time, and had it not been for his great exertions the Jacobite rising in '45 might have had a very different result. He may, indeed, be said to have saved the Hanoverian throne. Forbes was the second son of the proprietor of the estate of Culloden, and was born at Bunchrew, another estate belonging to the family, on the 10th November 1685. His family had come from the South in the seventeenth century; one of them had been Provost of Inverness. They were strong Presbyterians, and active friends of revolution principles. His father, Duncan Forbes, was member in the Scottish Parliament for the county of Nairn. His mother was Mary Innes, a daughter of the Laird of Innes, a Morayshire baronet. Forbes, after obtaining his early education at Inverness, was sent to the University of Edinburgh when nineteen years of age. His father died the same year,

and was succeeded in his estates by his son John, the elder brother of the subject of our sketch. From Edinburgh Forbes went to Leyden, in Holland, where he studied law and oriental languages. He returned home from Holland after two years, passed as an advocate in Edinburgh, through the influence of the Duke of Argyll was appointed Sheriff of Mid-Lothian, and married Mary, a daughter of Mr Rose of Kilravock. The rising under the Earl of Mar brought him into prominent notice. With his elder brother he was actively engaged in the civil war in Inverness-shire, and was in close association with Simon, Lord Lovat, in the task of suppressing the insurrection. When that had been achieved — greatly through his exertions — he used his utmost endeavours to obtain the clemency of the Crown for his unfortunate countrymen. He showed kindness in mitigating the fate of the wretched prisoners, who were treated with the utmost rigour by the Government. He collected money for their defence, and publicly remonstrated with the authorities for the cruelty they displayed. Some time after, he proposed the plan, afterwards adopted by Pitt, by which their forfeited estates were restored to the chiefs, and by which the people were employed as soldiers in the service of the country. It would have been well for Inverness-shire if his humane views had been carried out when in after days a conquered and defenceless people were left at the mercy of the victors. The insurrection being overcome, he pleaded that it was not the way to make the Scottish Jacobites peaceful and contented subjects to execute until the hangman was exhausted, and to proscribe for ever as outcasts those who were spared from death. With solemn earnestness he showed that extirpation, if it be sharper and more horrible, is a more effective remedy than proscription, and in the end not so cruel. "If," he says, "all the rebels, with their wives and children, could be at

once rooted from the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution than when thousands of innocents, punished with misery and want for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country sighing out their complaints to heaven, and drawing at once the compassion and moving the indignation of every human creature."

In 1722 Forbes was returned to Parliament as member for the Inverness district of Burghs, and three years afterwards he was raised to the office of Lord Advocate. While in Parliament, he was on intimate terms with Sir Horace Walpole and with Lords Mansfield and Hardwicke, and was a member of the Literary Society, adorned by Swift, Pope, and other intellectual celebrities of the time. In 1734 his elder brother John died, and he succeeded to the family estates. He resided at Culloden as often as his public duties would admit, and made an admirable laird, doing much to improve his property and to promote the happiness of his tenants. He also made contributions to theological literature. In 1732 he published 'A Letter to a Bishop concerning some Discoveries in Philosophy and Theology,' a book of no great merit in itself, but which was much thought of at the time and passed through three editions. In 1735 he wrote a book more ambitious in its character, called 'Some Thoughts concerning Religion natural and revealed, and the manner of understanding Revelation,' tending to show that Christianity is indeed nearly as old as the Creation. These treatises were very popular, and are evidences of the deep piety of their writer—a piety we of our day find difficult altogether to reconcile with his conviviality. He was a hard drinker, and the libations of claret at Culloden were even in his time famous throughout the North.

In 1737 Forbes was appointed President of the Court of Session, the highest office to which a Scottish lawyer can aspire. He was much respected as a judge, and filled his position with dignity and ability, raising the court over which he presided to a state of efficiency it has never surpassed. A very fine portrait statue in marble of Forbes, attributed to Roubillac, is one of the chief ornaments of the Hall of the Parliament House in Edinburgh.

The rising of the '45 brought the President into great prominence, and he will always be remembered chiefly for the ability he displayed at that critical juncture. He had a warm sympathy with the Highlanders, and did all in his power to keep them from being tempted to break with the Government. On hearing of the landing of Prince Charles he at once set off to Inverness. He was intimately acquainted with the Northern chiefs, and his talents and eminent position gave him weight and influence even among the turbulent spirits of the Jacobites. His whole efforts were put forth to keep the clans from joining in the rising. Through his influence the great Skye clans of Macdonald and Macleod, who could have brought to the standard of the Prince 8000 men, were kept at home. He also kept the clans of Rossshire from taking the field. For a length of time anything done in Scotland to save the country to the reigning family was the work of Forbes. For weeks he concentrated in himself the whole elements of government in the North. "I found myself," he says, describing his position at the time, "almost alone: without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation, and if you except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by no man of common-sense or courage." With the resources at his command he certainly worked wonders.

His great efforts in the Hanoverian cause were unrewarded. His gentle spirit was lacerated by the memorable cruelties which followed the battle of Culloden. His endeavours on behalf of his suffering countrymen were treated with contempt. The money he had raised on his own responsibility to meet the emergency was never repaid. No gratitude was ever expressed for his energetic and indomitable efforts. The treatment he received so preyed upon his mind that it is said to have hastened his death. He died on the 10th December 1747, pressed by creditors whose claims he was unable to meet, but leaving a name which is held in greater honour by none than by his own countrymen of the North.

CHARLES GRANT was, like Forbes, a statesman and a philanthropist, though his energies were exerted in a wider sphere. He was born at Aldourie, in the parish of Dores, on the 16th April 1746, the memorable day on which the battle of Culloden was fought. A few hours after his birth his father, Alexander, was killed on the fatal field fighting for Prince Charles. Grant received his education in Elgin, and in 1767 proceeded to India in a military capacity, but on his arrival was taken into the employ of Mr Richard Becher, a member of the Bengal Council. In 1772 he was appointed a writer on the Bengal establishment, and commenced a civil career that became more and more distinguished. Three years later he was selected for the office of secretary to the Board of Trade at Calcutta, and in 1781 as commercial resident at Maldah, one of the most important posts of the service. In 1784 he obtained the rank of senior merchant, and in 1787 had conferred on him by Lord Cornwallis the office of member of the Board at Calcutta in consideration of his distinguished abilities and approved integrity. In this high office he continued till 1790, when family circumstances

compelled him to return to England. His early promotion to stations of trust and employment had enabled him to acquire a considerable fortune, and he hoped at home to use his influence in promoting the welfare of the natives of India, in whose prosperity he had come to take deep interest. He had on a voyage made the acquaintance of the celebrated missionary Schwarz, and this led him ever afterwards to identify himself with missionary enterprise, and to do all in his power to promote it.

After his return home he was in 1794 elected a director of the East India Company, and from this time till his death took a leading part in the administration of our Indian empire. In 1802 he was elected M.P. for Inverness, and shortly afterwards became chairman of the Board of the Directors of the East India Company. This was a great position, and he is universally acknowledged to have filled it with conspicuous success. It was through him that a college was established for the education of young men destined for the Company's service, and he watched over its interests with anxious solicitude. His great desire was the establishment of an empire in India founded rather upon character than upon force. Acting upon this view, when Parliament arraigned the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, he took a leading part in the discussions, opposing with all his might what he called "military government," which he defined to be pursuing conquest for the sake of the extension of territory. The character of Grant's policy was eloquently set forth by himself in a great speech in which he spoke of what had been the policy of other conquering nations: "None of these nations sought to establish themselves in the affections of their acquired subjects, or to assimilate them to their manners; and those subjects, far from supporting them, rejoiced in their defeats. Some attempts they made to instruct the natives which had their

use, but sordid views overwhelmed their efforts. It remains for us to show how we shall be distinguished from those nations in the history of mankind,—whether conquest shall have been in our hands the means not merely of displaying a Government unequalled in India for administrative justice, kindness, and moderation; not merely of increasing the security of the subject and prosperity of the country, but of advancing social happiness, of meliorating the moral state of men, and of extending a superior light farther than the Roman eagle ever flew."

Grant was a man of deep piety, and did everything in his power to raise the low moral tone of Indian society. He exerted himself greatly to advance the cause of missions. Through him the augmentation of the ecclesiastical establishment of British India and the institution of a bishop's see at Calcutta were brought about, and especially the privilege was granted to European missionaries, hitherto denied, of enjoying access to the natives of the country in their ministrations. He fought hard to obtain this permission, and was so strongly supported by public opinion that the concession of greater liberty to Christian missions in the East was at last reluctantly given.

Charles Grant was closely associated with Wilberforce and other great philanthropists of his time, and with the band of religious men known by the name of the "Clapham Sect." The welfare of his native Highlands lay very close to his heart. He was a zealous member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, and helped it largely by his contributions. He was proprietor of the estate of Waternish in Skye. Through his influence civil or military appointments were obtained in India by many Inverness-shire young men. From every part of the county promising youths went out to that country to seek their fortunes. He was one

of the greatest benefactors Inverness-shire ever had, and in recognition of his services the county voted a portrait of him by Sir Henry Raeburn to be painted, which still hangs in the county hall. He died in London 3rd October 1823. His eldest son, Sir ROBERT GRANT, became Governor of Bombay. His son CHARLES, born in India, rose like his father and brother to great eminence in political life. He occupied the high offices of Secretary for Ireland, President of the Board of Trade, and Colonial Secretary, and was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Glenelg. He also succeeded his father as M.P. for Inverness on his retirement from that office in 1819. He was a Liberal in politics, an eloquent speaker, and a pure-spirited statesman. He died in 1866.

The Right Hon. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH was an Inverness-shire man whose career as a philosopher, politician, and historian reflects credit on the county of his birth. He was born at Aldourie, on the banks of Loch Ness, on the 24th October 1765. His father, John Mackintosh, was Laird of Kyllachie. Mackintosh received his early education at a school in Fortrose, where he was a devoted reader, especially of history, and where he otherwise gave promise of his afterwards distinguished career. In 1780 he went to King's College, Aberdeen, and during his course there showed that taste for moral and metaphysical studies which was always a marked feature in his character. After taking the degree of Master of Arts he went to Edinburgh to study medicine. Here he took a leading part in the Philosophical and Medical Societies connected with the university. On taking his diploma as doctor of medicine he went to London, but after long waiting saw no prospects of a professional settlement. He took considerable interest in politics, and acted for a time on the staff of a paper called the 'Oracle,' where he superintended the foreign news. Finally

he determined to abandon medicine and to study for the bar. In his new profession he attained considerable eminence, and was specially notable for his brilliant defence in the trial of Peltier, who was charged with a libel on Bonaparte. What brought him into prominence was not so much his forensic ability as his reply to Burke's condemnation of the French Revolution. That great historic movement found in him a warm defender, and his book, 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' published in 1791, was greatly admired even by Burke, whose principles it impugned. In this book he advocated Liberal views which would not be thought very advanced in our day, but which at that time were almost new, though they had been somewhat anticipated in Paine's 'Age of Reason.' He discusses at length the expediency and necessity of a revolution, and defends it on the theory of the British Constitution. Before the French could obtain the inestimable blessings of the freedom Britons enjoyed, it was necessary that there should be such an upturning as had excited the wonder of the world. The chains of tyranny were broken, and reason had triumphed over authority and prejudice. He considers at length the conduct of the actors in the great upheaval, and vindicates them so far as the result was manifested in the new Constitution of France. He defends the annexation of ecclesiastical revenues, and lays down—probably for the first time—the axiom which has since been very generally recognised, that "Church property is public property."

The book is a statement in a philosophical form of the principles of Liberalism, and Mackintosh was through its publication brought into association with Fox and the leading Whigs of the day, who recognised in him a recruit to their party likely to be useful. Under their auspices he delivered a course of lectures on the "Law of Nature and of Nations" in the hall of Lincoln's Inn, which were attended by many

prominent men, and were distinguished by great philosophical power. He seemed marked out for political advancement, and was on familiar terms with the literary men of London society; but the office of Recorder of Bombay being offered to him, he accepted it, and was for nine years in India.

On his return to England in 1812, entering into political life, he was elected member of Parliament for the county of Nairn. He did not acquire much political distinction, but was respected as a statesman. His speeches were more philosophical and forensic than popular, and he never altogether accommodated himself to the atmosphere of the House of Commons. He was made a Privy Councillor and a member of the Board of Control, and in 1818 became "Professor of Law and General Politics" in the East India Company's College at Haileybury, which had lately been founded by his countyman Charles Grant. This was a congenial sphere of work, and he was enabled to give full scope to the philosophical bent of his mind. In 1819 he was elected member of Parliament for Knaresborough, and in 1823 Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, when he delivered an address to the students of great eloquence and thoughtfulness. He was a frequent contributor to the 'Edinburgh Review,' and the author of a 'History of England.' Macaulay speaks of him with much respect; and Lord Jeffrey, who was one of his intimate friends, says of him that "his range of study and speculation was nearly as large as that of Bacon, and there were, in fact, but few branches of learning with which he was not familiar." It is chiefly as a philosophical writer that Mackintosh will be remembered. His 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy,' contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' in which he summarises the speculations of ancient and

modern ethical philosophers, was much admired at the time of its publication, and still holds a useful place in the literature of its department. In this book Mackintosh takes up a philosophical position to a great extent his own. He expresses and defends his opinion that the affections usually called benevolent are properly described as disinterested. He contends earnestly for the independent existence and supremacy of conscience or the moral faculty. He assents to the theory of the formation of our passions and affections, and even of our sentiments of virtue and duty, by means of the association of ideas. He also lays down a "theory of conscience" which he elaborates at great length. Many of his views had been anticipated by Bishop Butler, though he amplified them and worked them out to their legitimate conclusions with much acuteness as well as lucidity. He died in London on the 30th May 1832.

JAMES MACPHERSON was perhaps, so far as literature is concerned, the best known man connected with Inverness-shire. He was born at Ruthven, in the parish of Kingussie, in 1736, and was the son of Andrew Macpherson, a tacksman, nephew of the chief of the clan. He was educated at Inverness, and at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. At the latter university he studied divinity with a view to the ministry of the Church of Scotland. He was also for a time schoolmaster at his native place. In 1758 he published a poem called 'The Highlander,' followed by 'Death' and the 'Hunter,' none of which evinced poetic merit. In 1759 he became tutor in the family of Graham of Balgowan, and it was during this time he met Mr Home and submitted to him short translations from poems in the Gaelic language. Mr Home brought these to Edinburgh and showed them to Dr Blair, Adam Ferguson, and Principal Robertson, all of

whom greatly admired them. In 1760, at the desire of Home and Blair, he published 'Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland.' These fragments excited much attention, and an earnest desire to recover other remains of Gaelic poetry which were said to exist in the Highlands. A liberal subscription having been made to defray his expenses, Macpherson was induced to undertake a journey of research throughout the Highlands. During his tour he occasionally wrote to Dr Blair informing him of his progress in collecting poems either in manuscript or from recitation. He arrived in Edinburgh in 1761, and took lodgings immediately below Dr Blair, to whom he often repeated parts of what he was engaged in translating. The result of his labours was the appearance in 1762 of 'Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, together with several other Poems composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal. Translated from the Gaelic Language by James M.' In the following year appeared 'Temora, an Epic Poem in Eight Books.'

These publications created a great sensation in the literary world, and occasioned a controversy which has not yet ceased. By many Macpherson was hailed as a genius, by others he was denounced as a literary forger. Among the latter was Dr Johnson, whose abuse was of the strongest kind. "Macpherson had," according to him, "only found names and stories and phrases, being passages in old songs, and with these blended his own compositions, and so made up what he gave to the world as translations of an ancient poem." Johnson's vituperation so irritated the proud Highlander that he sent the great man a challenge by a friend. Johnson purchased a stout oak stick and replied that "he would repel violence, and not desist from any fear of the menaces of a ruffian."

If the great sage was bold in his attack upon Macpherson, that gentleman did not want for able defenders. A strong array of eminent men—Blair, Lord Kames, Sir John Sinclair, Home, and others—mustered in defence of the genuineness of the poems, the success of which was great. Within a year after their publication they were translated into the languages of France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, and Poland, while edition after edition was called for at home. The poems were the admiration of Goethe and Byron, and were carried about by Napoleon in his campaigns. It is not within our province to enter into the controversy that has raged around these remarkable productions. It is perhaps sufficient to say that modern researches and Celtic criticism have amply vindicated the reputation of Macpherson from the attacks made upon him as a forger. The publication in our own time of the 'Book of the Dean of Lismore' has shown the existence of ancient Gaelic poetry such as Macpherson collected. It contains many heroic ballads, nine of which are attributed to Ossian. Gaelic scholars have shown that tradition is quite capable of preserving such fragmentary compositions as Macpherson received from recitation, and that such fragments were well known to men who knew nothing of his labours. That such fragments were pieced together by Macpherson there is little doubt, but to what extent he inserted lines of his own composition as connecting links—if he inserted any—it is impossible to say. Gaelic scholars have been unable to point out any piece of new cloth sewn on to the old. The same heroic spirit pervades the whole. Certainly, if the poems were either in part or whole the work of Macpherson, it is remarkable that he never afterwards wrote any to be compared with them even in the remotest way. "If he created Ossian," as it has well been said, "he was an athlete who

made one surprising leap and was palsied ever afterwards—a marksman who made a centre at the first shot but who never afterwards could hit the target." His subsequent incursions into the realm of literature may almost be said to be failures; they are certainly destitute of any spark of the fire of genius which glows throughout 'Fingal' and 'Temora.'

If Macpherson never wrote another 'Ossian,' he had successes of a different kind, which probably compensated him for any rough handling he had received. Through the kind offices of the Earl of Bute he received a civil appointment at Pensacola, in North America, and returned to London two years afterwards with a pension of £200 a-year, to act as a political writer in behalf of Government. His 'Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland' appeared in 1771; a 'Prose Translation of Homer'—a thin and watery affair—in 1773; a 'History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover' in 1773, for which he is said to have received £3000. In 1780 he was appointed agent for the Nabob of Arcot, and returned to Parliament for Camelford. From his various labours he amassed a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase the estate of Raitts, the name of which he changed to Belleville, near Kingussie. Here he built an elegant mansion, to which he retired to spend the evening of his life. In his new capacity as a Highland laird he was honoured and respected. He was liberal to the poor, and went among his people by the name of "Fair James." Through his influence with the Government he obtained the restoration to his chief of the property which had been forfeited after the '45. This made him popular with all his neighbours, towards whom he exercised generous hospitality. He was regarded by them as a fine specimen of a true and chivalrous Highlander. He

died at Belleville in 1796, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the Poets' Corner.

Though those we have mentioned are the great literary figures of our county annals, these are not without others who are worthy of remembrance. JAMES GRANT of Corrymony was a Scottish advocate, and when he died was the oldest member of his profession. He was born in 1743, and had a reputation in his time both as a politician and man of letters. He was prominently distinguished as a supporter of Liberal principles at a time when in Scotland there were not many such. He was a personal friend of Henry Erskine, Jeffrey, Mackintosh, and other reformers of the same class, and was a frequenter of the literary circles of Edinburgh. Two works of his were much thought of when they appeared: the one 'On the Origin of Society, Language, Property, Government, Jurisdiction, Contracts, and Marriage'; the other 'On the Origin and Descent of the Gael, with an Account of the Picts and Scots, and Observations relative to the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.' These books show considerable learning and research, and though modern philological inquiries have greatly diminished their value as contributions to science, they are still worthy of being read both for the learning they display and the ingenuity of the author in making good his conclusions. Grant was a stout Highlander, and with him all that was worthy was derived from the Gael. The Gaelic language was the common parent of both the Greek and Latin. The identity of the Greeks and Romans with the Highlanders could be gathered from their stature and complexion, their manners and customs, their modes of living, their dress, their weapons, their religion, and their language. In arguing in favour of these propositions, Grant

displays intimate acquaintance both with classic writers and with the language and literature of his own country. He died in 1835 at the advanced age of ninety-two. His grandson, also JAMES GRANT, was a popular writer of fiction.

JAMES BAILLIE FRASER, born at Reelick on the 11th June 1783, was well known as a traveller and man of letters. After a distinguished career, like many Invernessians, in India, he made a tour in the Himalayas and penetrated as far as the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges. This was an achievement which at the time attracted much notice, and he gave the results of his explorations to the public in a volume of travels. He subsequently made several expeditions into remote parts of the East, in which he displayed a daring and adventurous spirit. In 1821 he travelled through Persia dressed as a native, afterwards writing a full account of his wanderings. He gave to the public many volumes of travels in such remote regions as Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Assouan, countries of which at that time little was known. He also essayed fiction, and wrote several novels, such as 'The Highland Smugglers,' 'Tales of the Caravanserai,' and others. He was an elegant writer, and his literary efforts were much admired. In latter years, like many of his countrymen, he came back to his native county, and spent the evening of his days at Reelick, where he died in 1856.

JOHN F. M'LENNAN was one whom we must not forget in this sketch. He was born in Inverness, where his father was an insurance agent, and after receiving his early education in that town, was a student at the University of Aberdeen, where his mathematical talent won him much distinction. He com-

pleted his education at Cambridge, and passed in 1853 in the list of Wranglers. After doing literary work in London he came to Edinburgh, where he became a member of the Scottish Bar. His natural sympathies were literary and scientific rather than legal, and he was highly esteemed in Edinburgh among those with tastes similar to his own. He wrote the article on "Law" in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and while doing so was much struck by the forms of marriage ceremonies, for which, it seemed to him, the usual explanations were insufficient. His investigations were pursued with great tenacity, and in 1865 he produced his book on 'Primitive Marriage.' This book attracted much attention as a new departure in sociological inquiry. It was, as it has well been said, "a shaft sent right into the darkest part of primitive history." It changed entirely the prevalent conceptions of early society. Others have taken up the line of investigation which M'Lennan began, but which he was not spared to fully carry out. His work bore the undoubted stamp of original genius, and his speculations placed him high in rank among the scientific men of this century. He died in 1881.

We have mentioned the names of some of the outstanding men whom our county has given to literature, though the list, we are aware, is by no means complete. There have been also many Inverness-shire men connected with the Press who have been well known in journalism, like the war correspondent we have already noticed, and JOHN CAMERON MACDONALD, born in Fort William, who died manager of the 'Times' newspaper, and was the inventor of the famous Walter Press. Of late years there has been a distinct revival of a literary spirit in Inverness-shire, and especially in the town of Inverness. In 1826 ROBERT CARRUTHERS became editor of the 'Inverness

Courier,' and will long be affectionately remembered as a powerful personality in the promotion of culture from the time of his coming to Inverness until his death in 1878. Not only was he an eminent man of letters himself, but he awakened literary aspirations in others. He was to many young men "guide, philosopher, and friend." It was in the columns of the 'Inverness Courier' that Hugh Miller began his literary career, and others besides that distinguished man have had occasion to look back with gratitude to its editor. The impetus which he gave to culture and intellectual life in the North has not ceased. In no town of its size is there more cultivated society than in that of Inverness, and no county has had more done to illustrate its history, language, and customs than Inverness-shire. The painstaking antiquarian researches of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, the elaborate clan histories of Mr Alexander Mackenzie, the admirable local histories of Mr William Mackay and Mr Alexander Macpherson, the philological works of Mr Alexander MacBain, the deeply interesting 'Reminiscences of the late Joseph Mitchell, C.E.,' and the 'Transactions' of the Gaelic Society and of the Field Club, have cast a flood of light upon the history of Inverness-shire, its traditions, folk-lore, and poetry, and the social condition of its people in ancient and modern times. To the painstaking researches of those whom we have mentioned, as well as to others of kindred spirit, a very hearty tribute of thanks is due from the writer of this book, who has been much indebted to their labours.

The profession of the law has apparently been that to which Inverness-shire men have taken most kindly after that of arms. To the names already mentioned others might be added. Besides President Forbes, another lawyer from the county,

William Mackintosh, who takes the title of LORD KYLLACHY, has reached the judicial bench of the Supreme Court of Scotland. The late LORD GORDON of Drumearn had also a distinguished forensic and judicial career. Born at Inverness, 10th April 1814, EDWARD STRATHEARN GORDON, after his education in his native town and at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was called to the Bar in 1835. In after years he held the offices of Lord Advocate and Dean of Faculty, and was member of Parliament for the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. In 1876 he was made a Lord of Appeal, with a life peerage and the title of Baron Gordon. He was held in high respect for his judicial capacity. He died at Brussels, 21st August 1879.

Inverness-shire has not produced many eminent theologians. Of popular preachers in the English and Gaelic languages, and of faithful pastors, it has had many in all its various Protestant churches, but none have been famous beyond their own district, either for their eloquence, capacity in ecclesiastical administration, or contributions to theology. One only seems to have reached the office of Moderator of the General Assembly. This was Dr THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, who was born at Moy in 1816, and became Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1876. He was also a prominent Celtic scholar, and published, among other works of interest, the 'Book of Lismore,' with a translation into English and Modern Gaelic. In the Church of Rome many Inverness-shire priests have attained high ecclesiastical positions. Not a few have become members of the hierarchy at home and abroad, and have been professors in different foreign colleges. Two sons of the well-known family of Glenaladale are at present members of the Roman

episcopate in Scotland—the one Bishop of Aberdeen, and the other Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh.

This list of outstanding Inverness-shire men may appear slender and the names few, but those who remember the feuds and turbulent state of the county until the eve of modern times will wonder, not that its men of distinction should be so few, but that they should be so many.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INVERNESS-SHIRE RICH IN ONE SPECIES OF LITERATURE: HAS PRODUCED MANY BARDS—ANCIENT POEMS—"THE DESIRE OF THE AGED BARD"—"THE OWL"—IAN LOM, THE KEPPOCH BARD—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE—SPECIMENS OF HIS POETRY—"THE DAY OF INVERLOCHY"—HIS PANEGYRIC ON SIR JAMES MACDONALD—HIS "LAMENT FOR GLENGARRY"—THE BARD OF THE CLANRANALD, ALEXANDER MACDONALD—HIS HISTORY—THE CHARACTER OF HIS POETRY—TRANSLATIONS OF SOME OF HIS POEMS—"THE SUGAR BROOK"—"THE SONG OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS"—"MORAG BEAUTIFUL"—"IN PRAISE OF THE KILT"—"THE WAR-SHIP OF CLANRANALD"—JULIAN MACDONALD—HER ELEGY ON GLENGARRY—BLACK JOHN OF CLANRANALD—HIS POEM ON "THE HIGHLAND CLANS"—MACPHERSON OF STRATHMASHIE—JOHN ROY STEWART—HIS LIFE AND POEMS—BLIND ALAN, BARD OF GLENGARRY—CHARACTER OF HIS EFFORTS—HIS "SONG ON DRINKING"—EWAN M'LACHLAN—HIS GENIUS, LIFE, AND EARLY DEATH—SPECIMENS OF HIS POETRY—"THE MELODY OF LOVE"—MANY OTHER BARDS BESIDES THESE MENTIONED—ESTIMATE OF THE INVERNESS-SHIRE BARDS AND THEIR POWER OF SONG.

THERE is a species of literature belonging to the Highlands of which Inverness-shire has its full share—namely, the work of the Gaelic bards. Their poems, some of them transmitted orally through many generations, occupy a place of their own in the hearts of the Highland people. It is right that some notice should be taken here of those bards belonging to the mainland of Inverness-shire, though it is exceedingly difficult to convey a true idea of their power to those unfamiliar with the language in which they wrote. An English translation of these poems gives at best but a feeble reflection of their

strength and originality, yet it is only through such a medium that we can bring them before our readers.

Inverness-shire has produced many poets. Some of them, perhaps, belong to prehistoric times, others to more modern days. Every glen in the county has its own bards, and in every cottage their songs are sung. The minstrelsy of Lochaber, Glenmoriston, and Glenurquhart alone would fill, if collected, many volumes. The songs are of varied character. They are of war and the chase, of the beauties of nature and the delights of love. Often they glow with the spirit of patriotism, the affection of the Highlanders for the Stewart race; often they tell of the exultation of the warrior in the hour of battle and in pursuit of his foes. Not unfrequently they are tinged with that deep melancholy which belongs to a race whose glories are mainly in the past. The history of the Inverness-shire people is reflected in their songs as clearly as their mountains are mirrored in the lakes at their feet.

One of the earliest Gaelic poets, so far as we can judge from the fragment of his muse which has escaped oblivion, belonged to Inverness-shire. "The Desire of the Aged Bard," as his poem is called, has in it references to Loch Treig, to Scuir Eilt at the head of Loch Leven, and to Ben Nevis, which he terms Ben Ard, or the High Mountain. Its scene is evidently laid in Lochaber. It bears marks of high antiquity: it speaks of the elk, an animal now extinct. It apparently belongs to a time before the brethren of Iona had converted the Northern tribes to Christianity. The heaven to which the bard aspires is not the heaven of Scripture, but the "Isle of Heroes"—the halls where dwell Ossian and Daol—"the dwelling of the bards upon Ardven, from which there is no return."

The poem begins with a wish on the part of the bard to pass away amid the scenes of nature which he loved:—

"O place me by the little streams that flow softly with gentle steps,
Under the shade of spreading branches lay my head;
And, O thou sun, be kind to me.
Lay softly my side on the grass upon the bank of flowers and gentle breezes,
My feet bathed in the wandering stream that slowly winds along the plain.
Let the pale primrose, grateful in hue, and the little daisy surround my hillock,
Greenest when bedewed."

In scenes like these he would recall the vanished days ere he took his last journey. He would hear in his solitude the hunter's step and the song of his dogs on the mountains, and as he listened the days of his youth would come back to him:—

"The marrow of my bones shall awake when I hear
The noise of horns, of dogs, and of bowstrings;
When the cry is heard, 'The stag is fallen!'
My feet shall leap with joy along the mountain-heights."

Upon his mind there rushes the recollection of the time when he too followed the chase among the hills and far-spreading moorlands that lie between Ben Nevis and the Black Mount, of the prowess of his old companions, and of the faithful dog that bore him company:—

"I see, methinks, the hound by my side
That followed me early and late,
The hills I loved to travel,
The rocks that echoed the hunter's horn.

The smoke of the deer-feast arose,
Our drink from Treig, the wave our music.
Ghosts might shriek and mountains roar;
Reclined in our cave, peaceful was our rest.

I see Ben Ard of beauteous hue,
The monarch of a thousand hills;
The dreams of stags are in his locks,
His head is in the bed of clouds.

I see Scuir Eilt on the brow of the glen,
Where the cuckoo first sweetly calls;
The beautiful green hill of thousand firs,
Of plants, of roes and elks."

So his dreams move on in long procession, bringing back days of joy to his memory. Love mingles also in his visions with the delights of the chase: "Happiness to thy soul, virgin of the curling locks." "Her hand of snow among her locks of gold, and her mild rolling eye on the youth of her love." Then the dream passes and his pulses beat slow. Death is near, and he must face it:—

"Hast thou forsaken me, O pleasant dream?
Return yet—one little step return.
Thou wilt not hear me. Alas! I am sad.
Mountains of my love, farewell!"

But he will meet the inevitable with a brave heart and in a manner worthy of his forefathers. The closing verses are the death-song of the old pagan:—

"Turn my ear to the roar of the waterfall
That bursts in thunder from the rock;
Let a harp and a shell be by my side,
And the shield that defended my sires in battle.

Then come friendly over the sea,
Low whisper that moveth softly;
Bear my shade on the wing of thy swiftness,
Make thy way to the Isle of Heroes,

Where those who passed of old
Are in deep slumber without sound of music.
Open the hall where dwell Ossian and Daol.
The night shall fall, the bard shall not be found.

But oh, before it comes, ere my shade retire
To the dwelling of the bards upon Ardven,
Whence there is no return,
Give me my harp and shell for the road;
Then, my harp and beloved shell, farewell!"

There is another poetic fragment, not so old as that we have referred to, yet still very ancient, which also belongs to Inverness-shire. It is supposed to have been composed by a famous hunter and poet of Lochaber, DONALD MACDONALD, or, as he was called, Donald Macdonald, the son of Finlay of the Songs. The title of the poem is "The Owl." Donald, it is said, married when an old man a young woman who treated him with much indignity, and who, to show her contempt for her husband, brought home an old and enfeebled owl, which she presented to him as a fit companion for his declining years. The ancient hunter, with a philosophy which does him credit, accepted the gift, and entered into a long conversation with the bird of wisdom, worthy of Æsop. This conversation is the subject of the poem. It opens with an expression of pity on the part of the hunter for one aged and decrepit like himself:—

"Poor owl of Sròne,
Sorrowful to-night is thy bed.
If thou hast lived since the days of Donnaghall,
No wonder though thy spirit is heavy."

The owl replies by saying that his age is as that of the oak. He has seen many generations pass away. He has known the heroes of former years, though he is to-day the poor owl of Sròne; and then ensues an outpouring of the reminiscences of the past. Some of the verses are very plaintive:—

"I am sitting on the fairy hill of the mountains,
Gazing at the head of Loch Treig;
Craiguaine, sacred to the chase,
The sunny height where dwell the deer.

I see the crest of wooded Bidean,
The side nearest of Scuir-a-li,
Scuir-a-chointich of slender stags.
Dear to me to-day is all I see.

I see Strathfarsuin of the cattle,
Where loudest is the bay of gallant hound;
And the rocky corry of Mām,
Where oft my hand struck down the brown stag.

My blessing to Ben Alta,
The honoured among all mountains;
And to Loch Erroch's side, where dwell the deer—
Well I loved to be there."

Then comes the mourning of the aged hunter over departed days. Old age had brought feebleness both to himself and the dog, his companion in the chase:—

"Dismal and heavy is my heart,
For age has wounded my foot.
No more will I climb the hill of the deer,
Never again let loose my dogs.

Me and thee, my white hound,
Sad for us to-day is all we have left;
We have lost the baying voice and the song,
Though once our condition was lofty.

The wood from thee has taken the roe,
The heights from me have taken the stag;
But there is no shame in that, my hero,
Since age has settled on us both."

Lochaber, to which the bards we have noticed belonged, has ever been famous for its poets; but among them none has attained a higher reputation than IAN LOM, or JOHN THE BARE. He has already been noticed in these pages. He, as we have seen, guided Montrose in his wonderful march through the mountains from Kilchumin to Inverlochy. After the famous battle there, he celebrated the victory of the Great General. We have also seen how, through his unwearied

efforts, the Keppoch murderers were brought to justice. John the Bare was related to the Keppoch family, and, like his chief, was a devoted Royalist. He celebrated in his verses the prowess of Dundee, and accompanied him in his march to Killiecrankie. The poet was a man of considerable humour and ready wit, of which many stories are told. When Alastair Colquitto said to him that he was, in honour of his services, to take prominent part in the battle of Inverlochy, John, who had no taste for fighting, replied, "If I go along with thee to-day, who will sing thy praise to-morrow? Go thou, Alastair, and exert thyself as usual, and I shall sing thy feats and celebrate thy prowess in martial strains." He then betook himself to a place of safety.

After the affair of Inverlochy, irritated beyond measure by the poet's satires, Argyll is said to have offered a considerable reward for his head. John the Bare, relying on the sanctity of person which belonged to the office of a bard as of a priest, went himself to the castle of Inverary and demanded the reward. "Give it to me," he said to Argyll, "for here I am, produced by myself!" "Grim Archibald," to his credit, received him courteously and conducted him over the castle. On entering a room hung round with the spoils of the chase, and especially with the heads of blackcocks, he said to his guest, "Did you ever, John, see so many blackcocks in one place?" "I have," said John. "Where?" "At Inverlochy," was the reply. "Ah, John," replied the nobleman, "will you ever leave off gnawing at the Campbells?" "I am only sorry," was the bard's remark, "that I cannot swallow them"!

The steward of the castle, to whom the poet was sent for entertainment, does not appear to have had the same respect for him as his master, and set before him very meagre fare. All he gave him for his repast was a dish of boiled whelks

gathered on the shore of Loch Fyne. The bard, sitting down on the floor, loosened the gold pin with which his plaid was fastened, and proceeded to extract the meat from the shell-fish, pouring forth as he ate extempore verses descriptive of his dinner as a specimen of the hospitality of the Argyleshire chief and of the fare given to strangers at Inverary. The steward at last, alarmed lest these verses should gain currency to the discredit of his master, removed the whelks and set before the poet more substantial fare.

The most spirited of the poems of John the Bare is that called "The Day of Inverlochy." He describes the fight as seen by him from the battlements of the castle, though that he was ever there is highly improbable. Nothing can exceed the contempt which he pours upon the Campbells, whom he pictures in full flight, swimming the water of Nevis, or with "cloven skulls" "stretched to rot upon the heather."

The rendering we give of part of this spirited poem is that of Mr Napier in his 'Memoirs of Montrose.' It is by no means literal, yet it may give the English reader some idea of the *verve* and vigour of the verses:—

"Heard ye not! heard ye not how that whirlwind the Gael
To Lochaber swept down from Loch Ness to Lochiel;
And the Campbells, to meet them in battle array,
Like the billow came on and were broke like its spray?
Long, long shall our war-songs exult in that day.

'Twas the Sabbath that rose, 'twas the feast of St Bride,
When the rush of the clans shook Ben Nevis's side.
I, the bard of the battle, ascended the height
Where dark Inverlochy o'ershadowed the fight,
And saw the Clan Domhnuil resistless in might.

Through the land of my fathers the Campbells have come,
The flames of their foray enveloped my home;
Broad Keppoch in ruins is left to deplore,
And my country is waste from the hill to the shore.
Be it so! By St Mary! there's comfort in store.

Though the Braes of Lochaber a desert be made,
And Glen Roy may be lost to the plough and the spade;
Though the bones of my kindred, unshrouded, unurned,
Mark the desolate path where the Campbells have burned.
Be it so! From that foray they never returned.

Fallen race of Diarmid! disloyal, untrue,
No harp in the Highlands will sorrow for you;
But the birds of Lochiel are wheeling on high,
And the Badenoch wolves hear the Camerons cry,
Come feast ye! come feast ye! where the false-hearted lie."

John the Bare turned his muse to other subjects besides battles. His boat-song, which begins "On my rising in the morning early," is in praise of the vessel of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, the chief through whose influence the Keppoch murderers were brought to justice. In it he skilfully mingles admiration for the ship with admiration for its owner, though perhaps his best effort is in the former direction. Here is his description of the vessel:—

"'The Dubh Cnoydeartach,' swarthy,
Broad, high-shouldered, tight,
With many spears and iron blades in her bosom.

It is not the riders of fleet horses
That could take the prize of the race from thee
When on high thou spreadest thy sails
Over the sea;

When aloft are the bellying sails
Over the proud ocean,
And waves without number are spouting
Beneath thy keel."

From the vessel he passes to the chief, whom he praises in more exuberant fashion. "Great is my love to thee," he begins, "though I will not make a display of it," which he immediately proceeds to do:—

"Beloved of the women of Loch Treig
And Strath Ossian of pleasant meadows,
A band would rise with thee from Roy
With the bent yew on their shoulders;

And from the cold hills of Cairn na lairge
Many a youthful hero,
With the quiver behind his shield,
Will come to thee from the shoulder of Meal na lairg,
That would answer thy call
Without fear, without sorrow,
When thou raisest aloft for deeds of valour
The cross of fire."

Ian Lom's poem on the Keppoch Murder, his "Lament for Montrose," his "Lament on the Chief of Glengarry," are full of tenderness. From the last of these poems we may give one or two verses translated by an able Celtic scholar :—

"Not safe were they who rashly met
Thy warriors stern and true,
When the proud heather badge was set
In all their bonnets blue.
When thy brave banner waved on high,
And thou thyself wert seen,
With battle kindling in thine eye,
To draw the broadsword keen,
Then, then 'twas time for Albin's foes
To fly their fierce, their deadly blows.

That praise, that early praise was thine,
And spread thy well-known fame afar;
Thou didst on all occasions shine,
The wisest leader in the war.
No serried redcoats daunted thee,
Although their well-aimed volleys rolled
Upon thy ranks from musketry
That oft in deadly slaughter told.
Thy just distinctions ever were
The wise to lead, the bold to dare.

Thy lineage is, for blood and length,
In Albin's councils unexcelled,
And formed of chieftains famed for strength,
Who in the deadly charge compelled
Steeds fierce and fleet that harnessed shone
Like meteors coursing through the sky!
While on their selles, as on a throne,
They towered in their war panoply,
And none of them has been constrained
To deeds that have that lineage stained."

The translation gives a feeble idea of this lament. In the Gaelic the words sometimes sound like the roll of thunder. One hears the tramp of armed men mingled with the wail of the clan and the sound of the bagpipe as the great chief of Glengarry is borne to his burial :—

"The manly leader of the race
Who own the Garrian glen
Is off to his last resting-place,
Borne high by sorrowing men ;
The chieftain, lofty, true, and bold,
Who never his allegiance sold."

The greatest of the Inverness-shire bards, who holds, indeed, a place in the foremost rank of Celtic poets, was ALEXANDER MACDONALD, or, as he was called, "Allastair, the son of Master Allistair." He was born in the beginning of the eighteenth century and lived in troublous times. His father was minister of Ardnamurchan during the establishment of Episcopacy, and was famous among his people as much for his great physical strength as for his religious influence. His son Alexander, it is said, was destined for the ministry, and sent to pursue his studies at the University of Glasgow ; but he married before he finished his college course, and had to turn to other employment. For a time he acted as schoolmaster in Ardnamurchan, where he compiled a Gaelic and English vocabulary which was published by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. When the chiefs resolved to take up the cause of Prince Charles Stewart, he threw himself into the Jacobite movement with the utmost zeal. He abandoned the farm by which he added to his scanty allowance as a teacher, and received a commission in the Jacobite army. By his songs he did all in his power to inspire the people of his district with enthusiasm. He became a Roman Catholic, after having been first an

Episcopalian and afterwards a Presbyterian. After Culloden he found shelter in the wilds of his native district, between Kinloch Aylort and Moidart, and from his hiding-places sent forth songs denouncing "the Hanoverian usurper." His Gaelic songs in praise of Prince Charlie are quite in the spirit of those English Jacobite ballads which are still regarded as beautiful, and his address to the Prince under the guise of "Morag" is the Celtic counterpart of "Bonnie Charlie's o'er the main." His love for the Prince is only exceeded by the contempt he pours upon the Hanoverians. His poems after Culloden breathe rebellion in every line. He denounces the king as "the son of a German sow," whose only care for the Highlander was that of the raven for its bone. He prays the Lord of the universe to take from them "the pig" and his yoke, with his "leprous, scabbed, swinish progeny"; and his devout aspiration for the Duke of Cumberland is that the "Butcher" may have a rope tied round his neck and be made to swing from it. Fortunately for him, the language in which his invectives were couched was not generally understood by his enemies, else he would surely have had the fate meted out to him which he so ardently desired for the "Butcher." He was permitted, however, to spend the evening of his days in peace. After acting as tutor to certain Jacobite families in Edinburgh, he retired to Moidart, and afterwards to Knoydart. He died at Sandaig, near Arisaig, at a good old age, and was carried by his clansmen to his grave in Eillan Finnan on Loch Shiel.

Many of Macdonald's poems are coarse and indecent. It has been truly said of him that, "like Nebuchadnezzar's image, he was gold above and coarse clay below." He had, however, an intense appreciation of the beauty of nature. Like most Gaelic poets, he has no feeling of the spiritual suggestions of scenery, and of "those thoughts that lie too

deep for tears"; but he has great love for the beauty of nature in itself, its harmony and grandeur, and great command of language in describing it. A little burn, called the "Sugar Brook," which flowed past his cottage, is the theme of much loving and delicate description. In the "fragrant summer morning" the azure dew lies grey upon the grass "like rosaries." The blue-backed cuckoo proudly tosses her head, cuckooing on the branch. The blithesome brown wren has music of her own. The linnet tunes up its choicest strain, and the moorhen hoarsely responds to the croaking of the blackcock. After these slight touches, the poet paints the stream itself:—

"The trout kept leaping nimbly
With merry plunge and play,
Dimpling the burn with sprightly tricks,
Warm in the summer ray.
Their blade-blue backs and spotted gills
Gleamed with their gem-like scales,
When with a dash they snapt the fly
That careless wandering sails."

The poet describes with very delicate touch the sights and sounds that greet him as he wanders by the burnside—the hum of bees, the lowing kye, the beauty of the simple flowers that border the streamlet:—

"O dainty is the graving work
By Nature near thee wrought,
Whose fertile banks with shining flowers
And pallid buds are fraught.
The shamrock and the daisy
Spread o'er thy borders fair
Like new-made spangles, or like stars
From out the frosty air.

O lily, king of flowers, thou
The new rose hast undone;
In bunches round, of tender hue
And white crown, like the sun,

To keep the Sugar brook from harm,
As amulets are given,
Such stars to sparkle where it winds,
Like guiding lights from heaven."

The "Ode to Summer" and the "Ode to Winter," the "Welcome to the Mainland," and other descriptive poems, show the poet's love for nature and his deep feeling of her beauty. It is, however, in his patriotic songs that he shows most of his power. The song which he is said to have sung all through the Highlands, calling on the people to rise and join Prince Charles—"The Song of the Highland Clans," as it is called—carries in its verses an impassioned appeal that English is powerless to convey:—

"O loved and loyal kindred!
Choice homage now give ye;
Let no mote cloud your eyesight,
Your heart from care keep free.
The health of James Stewart
With welcome send it round;
Without reserve receive it,
This holy pledge we sound.

Now fill a draught for Charlie,
Rogue! let this cup o'erflow.
Ha! 'tis a balm to heal our hearts,
Revive us when we're low.
Yea! should death's hand be laying us,
Weak, wan, beside the grave,
O Universal King! return,
Return him o'er the wave!"

The famous fulling song, called "Morag Beautiful," may still often be heard sung in alternate verses by women engaged in fulling cloth as they roll it backward and forward and from side to side. In this song the Prince is represented under the guise of a young maiden, Morag, with flowing locks of yellow hair floating over her shoulders. Every two lines

is followed by an impassioned chorus. We give some of the verses in literal translation :—

" Graceful Morag of the curling ringlets,
Thy love is the cause of my anxiety.

If thou art gone from us over the sea,
May thy return be speedy.

Remember to bring with thee a band of maidens
Who will tightly full the *red* cloth.

And shouldst thou come again to my country,
Death alone, my love, will separate us.

I will adhere to thee as closely
As the limpet to the sea-rock.

I would follow thee to the extremity of the world,
Shouldst thou come, my love, to invite me.

Many are the warriors high-blooded, stately,
That would draw their swords for thy love.

Two thousand would come from Sleat,
And a regiment from Glengarry.

The Gael will all close round thee,
Let those who will, come or remain away.

King ! but they were good at fullering the cloth
And shaping it with their blades."

Many such patriotic songs came from our poet in the depressed days of the Jacobites, breathing love for the Prince, and striving in vain to keep alive the loyalty of his adherents. At the time when the Highland dress was proscribed, he was bold enough to put forth a song in praise of the garb of the Gael. In it he dilates on both its beauty and adaptiveness, and abuses the king who suppressed it. "He expected to have blunted the zeal of the noble Gael, but instead of

doing so, he put them on their mettle," and made them "keen as a razor's edge":—

" Although they should tear open our bosoms
And drag our hearts out of us,
They will not extract Charles
While the vital spark remains."

Some of our readers, in these days when the kilt has become fashionable, will perhaps like to hear what this old Highlander has to say of its merits. Our translation is by the late Professor Blackie:—

" Give me the plaid, the light, the airy,
Round my shoulder, under my arm,
Rather than English wool the choicest,
To keep my body tight and warm.

Who is so trim as a kilted laddie?
Tight his gear, and light his adorning,
With only a buckle his belt to fasten,
When he leaps to his feet in the morning.

Thou art my joy in the charge of battle,
When bright blades are flashing o'er me;
When the war-pipe is sounding, sounding,
And the banners are flapping o'er me.

Good art thou in the stalking of deer,
When peaks are red with the young day dawning;
Mild art thou with sober cheer,
When going to church on Sunday morning.

I with thee would lie on the heather,
Closely wrapt to keep me warm,
Safe within thy folds defying
Batter of rain and bray of storm."

Macdonald's greatest poem is undoubtedly that called the "Launching of the Biorlinn," or war-ship of Clanranald. It is a poetic sea-piece. Its conception is original and its execution masterly. It is one of the longest Gaelic poems not

Ossianic, and therefore any extracts from it can give but little conception of the whole. The poem begins with the blessing of the ship, and a noble invocation to the persons of the Holy Trinity to take the bark under their protection and guidance. Then comes the blessing of the arms—the swords, "our keen grey brands of Spain," the dirks and pistols—and every kind of warlike gear which the vessel holds. The next part is a call to row to the place of embarkation; "to bring the galley so black and shapely to the sailing-point;" to stretch and pull and bend in the rowlocks with "their sinewy arms so brawny, knotted, and hairy," that will rise and drop together with one motion. This is followed by a boat-song supposed to be sung by Malcolm, son of Ronald of the Ocean, with a spirited chorus. The arrival at the sailing-point is then described. Every man is ordered to go to his own special post—the helmsman, the man set apart for the sheet and the foresheet, the look-out man at the bow, the man at the halyards, the baler, those ordered to haul the backstays in case the sails might be carried away by the roughness of the weather, the six chosen as a reserve in case any of those named should fail or be carried overboard. These sailors and the duties allotted to each of them are described with great minuteness and vigour. Then comes the story of the voyage, and any one familiar with the Hebrides will feel that the description is drawn directly from personal experience. We give some lines which speak for themselves:—

"The sun bursting golden yellow
From his cloud husk;
Then the sky grew tawny, smoky,
Full of gloom:
It waxed wave-blue, thick, buff-speckled,
Dun, and troubled;
Every colour of the tartan
Marked the heavens.

A rainbow "dog" is seen to westward,
Stormy presage;
Flying clouds by strong winds riven,
Squally showers.
They lifted up the speckled sails,
Towering, tight;
And they stretched the rigid shrouds up,
Tense and stiff,
To the tall and stately masts;
Red and resiny,
They were tied so taut and knotty
Without blunder.
Through the eyelet-holes
And the round blocks
They fixed every rope of rigging
Quick in order,
And each man at his place sat down
To watch smartly."

Then comes this marvellous description of the storm in the Western Sea. It is Homeric:—

"Opened then the windows of the sky,
Spotted grey-blue,
For blowing of the gurly wind
And the storm-bands;
And the dark-grey Ocean all around him
Drew his mantle—
His rough woolly robe of dun-black,
Horrid, flowing:
It swelled up in mountains and in glens
Rough and shaggy,
Till the tumbling sea was roaring
All in hills up.
The blue deep opened up its jaws
Wide and threatening,
Pouring out against each other
In deadly struggle.
A man's deed it was to look at
The fiery mountains,
Flashes of wildfire sparkling
On each summit.
In front the high hoary surges
Came fiercely raving,

And the hind seas, onward swelling,
  Hoarsely bellowed.
Every time we rose up grandly
  On the wave-tops,
Need was then to lower sail
  Quick and smartly.
When we sank into the glens
  With a gulp down,
Every stitch of sail she had
  Was hauled to mast-top.
The high, broad-skirted, heaving waves
  Came on raging;
Before ever they were near us
  We heard them roaring,
Sweeping bare the smaller waves
  As with scourges,
Making one deadly sea
  Dire for steering."

This description of a storm in the West Highlands even our English readers will allow to be powerful and poetic. The poem does not end with the extract we have given, but goes on through many verses to describe the perils of the voyage and the battle with the storm, until the vessel, shaping her course through the sheltering Sound of Islay, arrives safe at Carrickfergus. Though "not a knee or timber in her but was loosened," not a tiller was unsplit or helm unbroken; though every stick in her was creaking, the "waves cried peace on them at last," and the sea, "a smooth white table," "ceased from barking."

Macdonald was certainly the best of the Inverness-shire bards, and, perhaps more than any of the others, his verses lend themselves to translation. The extract just given is from the translation by the late Alexander Nicolson, as true a Skye man as ever lived. It is literal, and gives in no small degree much of the force and strength of the original.

Ian Lom and Allasdair Macdonald are the chief bards of the mainland of our county, but there were others also of whom

something needs to be said. We are indebted considerably to the great authority on the Celtic bards, Mackenzie, in his 'Beauties of Gaelic Poetry.'

SICELY or JULIAN MACDONALD was a daughter of the chief of Keppoch, and lived from the reign of Charles II. to that of George II. She was a fervent Royalist, and a bitter enemy to the house of Hanover. Her husband was a cadet of the house of Lovat, and one of her poems is an elegy for him. It is a bitter outpouring of grief, in which she compares herself to a boat "broken on the shore, without rudder, sail, or oar." In her latter days she turned her muse to sacred topics and composed hymns, some of which are still remembered in the North. Her finest verses are those in praise of the chief of Glengarry, written after his death. In this elegy, after telling how the clansmen had lost the grey old oak that shielded them, as the branches of the tree give shelter alike to the capercailzie and the strong blue-eyed hawk, she bursts into a fervent eulogy on the departed chief, and compares him to everything great and precious:—

"Thou wert the red flame to burn up thy foes,
Thou wert the battle-axe that hewed them to their heels,
Thou wert the strong shoulder to wage the battle,
Thou wert the hero with no timidity of hand.

Thou wert the salmon in the spring water,
Thou wert the glad fountain of health to many,
Thou wert Ben Nevis above each height,
Thou wert the rock that could not be climbed.

Thou wert the copestone of the castle,
Thou wert the broad paving-stone of the road,
Thou wert the bright jewel of all virtues,
Thou wert the precious gem of the ring.

Thou wert the yew-tree in the wood,
Thou wert the strong stalwart oak,
Thou wert the green holly, the rough thorn,
Thou wert the blossoming apple-tree."

This eulogium may perhaps appear somewhat overdone, but in the original every metaphor is made to tell. It was a song highly appreciated in the North, and was the model on which others of a similar character were framed.

JOHN MACDONALD, or, as he was called, BLACK JOHN, the son of John the son of Allan, belonged to the family of Clanranald, and had the position of a gentleman in the district of Moidart. He was born about 1665, was well educated, and shows his culture in his poems. These are highly polished compositions, and perhaps on that account wanting somewhat in the fire and exuberant fancy which are generally displayed by the northern bards. His best poem is one on "The Highland Clans." In this song he takes one clan after another, and gives in elegant and classical Gaelic the characteristics of each of the various septs—Monroes, Frasers, Camerons, Grants, and others. He begins by telling that a time was at hand when the stability of the Government would be tried. "The men of Alba had risen in their vigour and might." Every true fighting man was mustering "in his clean new armour" to fight for the restoration of the Crown. The good and true men of the Lowlands had risen. The spoiling of the English was at hand. The French in their array would be soon after them. After this prologue he tells what the Highlanders would do when they joined in the fray. First he gives the place of honour to his own clan :—

"Clan Donnuil will rise
Like lions enraged ;
They will come down like live thunderbolts.
Tall and stout are these heroes ;
These are the men to stand by the right,
Whose cognisance is the red hand."

The Camerons would not be far behind the Clan Donald when the hour came to strip for the battle :—

"Many are the warriors
Of Ewen of Lochiel;
Rough, broad men,
Famous for their prowess,
Sweeping on to battle
Like the spring-tide or mountain torrent.
Well know I that at stripping-time
They will not hold back from the onslaught."

The whole poem has a fine martial ring about it, and closely resembles the Latin poem "The Græmiad," which we have noticed, and which describes the gathering of the clans on the field of Macomer to follow the banner of Dundee.

Mr LAUCHLAN MACPHERSON of Strathmashie, in Badenoch, was, like the last poet we have named, of gentle birth and assured position. He was born in 1723, received a good education, and in his latter years assisted James Macpherson in the translations of the Gaelic poems which compose 'Ossian.' He was an accomplished Celtic scholar, and had large knowledge of Gaelic poetic manuscripts. He was also a poet himself, though not one by profession. He seemed to have turned off verses more for his own amusement than for any other reason. He was a great humourist, and, except his "Lament" for the departure of his chief to France after the '45, his verses are of a sprightly and occasionally even ridiculous character. Such is his song, "The Fellowship of Whisky," which has something of the ring of Burns about it, as the poet sings in merry verses the praise of that by which "heroes are often felled to the ground without any sword being drawn." Of the same character is his somewhat indecent satire called "The Grey Breeks." In it he lampoons the Hanoverian Government for their attempt to abolish the Highland garb, and turns to ridicule the Highlanders masquerading in trousers.

JOHN ROY STEWART, or JOHN STEWART THE RED, was a great warrior, and was famous for his prowess as well as for his poetry. He was born at Knock, in Badenoch, in 1700. He was well educated, and on his attaining manhood became quartermaster and lieutenant in the Scots Greys. After a time he retired from the king's service and was largely employed as a Jacobite agent. He was constantly coming and going between the exiled royal family and the Highland chiefs, and had a share in all the political plots and intrigues of his time. In 1736 he was apprehended as a dangerous person and imprisoned at Inverness, but with the connivance of Lord Lovat he broke out of gaol and escaped to France, where he was as much at home as in his own country. He was sent to Rome on an important mission, and he fought at Fontenoy. On the march south of Prince Charles he joined the army at Blair. He raised and commanded the Jacobite "Edinburgh Regiment," which distinguished itself on many occasions under his leadership. From his courage and resource, his gift of song, and his experience as a soldier from having served in France, he was a great favourite with the Prince, by whom he was familiarly termed "The Body." At Culloden he fought with much bravery, and attracted the notice of the Duke of Cumberland, who asked who he was. When he was told it was John Roy Stewart, "Good God!" he exclaimed, "the man I left in Flanders doing the butcheries of ten heroes! Is it possible he can have dogged me here?"

After Culloden, Stewart had a hard time. A price was set upon his head, and many attempts were made to capture him. He had frequent hairbreadth escapes, but though his hiding-places in Badenoch were known to many he was never betrayed. It was when resting with a sprained ankle beside a waterfall in Rothiemurchus, with his foot in the

stream, that he composed in English the verses, long held in high esteem by the Jacobites, called "John Roy Stewart's Psalm":—

"The Lord's my targe, I will be stout,
With dirk and trusty blade;
Though Campbells come in flocks about,
I will not be afraid.

The Lord's the same as heretofore,
He's always good to me;
Though redcoats come a thousand more,
Afraid I will not be.

Though they the woods do cut and burn,
And drain the waters dry,
Nay, though the rocks they overturn,
And change the course of Spey:

Though they mow down both corn and grass
And seek me under ground;
Though hundreds guard each road and pass,
John Roy will not be found."

Found he was not. He joined the Prince in Lochaber, and accompanied him to France, where he died about 1752.

The English doggerel—for it is little better—that we have quoted from his pious effusion gives little idea of the strength of his Gaelic poetry. His songs are still popular in the Highlands, and breathe in every line the intense love he bore for the cause to which he gave the best part of his life. His two poems on "The Day of Culloden" are a very wail of sorrow. In one of them he charges Lord George Murray with treachery, compares him to Achan, and pours forth, as it has well been said, "torrents of invective and revenge." In the other he sets forth his deep love for Prince Charles, "the true heir of the crown," a wanderer "he knew not whither." He enumerates with sorrow, yet with pride, one after another of those who had fought on his side, and praises their valour, and then

expresses fervently the hope, never to be realised, that the "wheel of fortune would come round," when the false Hanoverian would receive the wages of iniquity; when William the son of George would be "as a blighted tree without root, branch, or leaf," and the faithful clansmen, young and old, would gather under the shadow of their chosen king. His elegy on Lady Mackintosh of Moy, who entertained the Prince, is also a plaintive and tender poem.

ALAN DALL, or BLIND ALAN, born 1750, was the last of those family bards who were attached to the household of a chief. Most of his songs were composed at Inverlochy, and a selection of them was published which spread his fame throughout Inverness-shire. They attracted the attention of Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry, who still kept up in comparatively modern times something of the style of a chief. About 1795 he brought Alan to Glengarry and made him his family bard, and many of his effusions are in praise of his patron. He was a man of sharp wit, and knew well how to please his benefactor, to whom a little flattery was always agreeable. On one occasion, after the Glengarry games were over, and when, according to usual custom, the bard was to give an exhibition of his powers, the chieftain came forward and said, "Now, Alan, I will give you the best cow on my estate if you sing the doings of this day without once mentioning my name." Alan's reply was instantaneous, and is often still quoted:—

> "Sooner the day without the sun,
> Or without salt the sea,
> Than a song from me, most honoured chief,
> Without the praise of thee."

Doubtless Alan got his cow! His poems are often coarse in fibre, and those in praise of his patron are fulsome in the

extreme, but his satire is sharp. His verses on the shepherds from the Lowlands, whom he hated, are full of venom. When he was in good humour, which was as often as he could obtain a sufficient quantity of whisky, he sang songs of a genial and rollicking character which are often very diverting. Such are his songs on "Whisky" and on "Drinking." They are far from being such as would commend themselves to an advocate of temperance, but they exhibit well the jollity of the convivial Highlander. Here is his experience of a jovial night and subsequent repentance. The translation is literal:—

"When we sat in the public-house,
The stoups went beyond counting;
Quickly—not lingeringly coming—
They raced towards us.
No thought had I of the flight of time, but constantly paying,
And drinking the health of the Prince,
My heart with pleasure leaping high,
For Ronald was praising me.

But when I arose to go home
I became weak in the knees;
I tacked hither and thither, not seeing rightly
From the many conceits in my eyes.
Pressing along through the night with scarcely a blink of light,
I made prostrations which doubled me up,
And I fear indecent exposures:
My friends were much dissatisfied.

When I arose next morning
My mind was little disposed to merriment,
My head was without power, my bosom on fire,
My eyes polluted and red.
The 'son of the malt' it was that laid me low
In a bed uncomfortable;
That wrestler subdued me,
And left me bruised and weak.

Bad trades are rhyming and blethering.
Idiotic conduct it is
To be sitting at a table calling for drink
And turning pockets inside out;

Scattering money vaingloriously,
And stealing kisses in sly corners.
But while my money lasted
No landlord turned his back on me."

The poem concludes with the most solemn resolutions to turn over a new leaf, and "doubly to repent" and to "eschew drink" for the future, "for a moneyless man can only make his bread by the sweat of his brow." It is to be feared these resolutions were like too many others made in similar circumstances.

EWAN M'LACHLAN was a poet of education and learning, a scholar of no mean order, but a true Highlander, fond of the mountains and the language of his people. He was born in Lochaber 1775, was educated at the grammar-school of Fort William, and spent some years as a tutor in the neighbourhood of that town. In 1798 he entered King's College, Aberdeen, where he distinguished himself by his proficiency in classics. After taking the degree of A.M. with honours, he entered the Divinity Hall and completed his theological studies, but instead of entering the ministry of the Church of Scotland, he became assistant librarian of King's College and headmaster of the grammar-school of Old Aberdeen, positions which he occupied till his death in 1822, in the forty-ninth year of his age. He was a distinguished classic scholar and philologist, and was specially famous as a Gaelic scholar. He was the compiler of the Gaelic-English part of the Highland Society's Gaelic Dictionary, a work of immense labour, and an abiding monument of his intimate acquaintance not only with the Gaelic language, but also with Arabic, Chaldean, Hebrew, Persian, and other oriental languages. He had in his time considerable reputation as a poet. His Greek and Latin odes are said to be second only to those of George Buchanan;

and his translation of Homer's 'Iliad' into Gaelic, a work on which he was engaged at his death, has been pronounced by competent scholars to be faithful to the original and imbued with its spirit. He died at Aberdeen from overwork, in the prime of life, when much was expected from his genius. He was buried in his native Lochaber with every mark of sorrow and respect. A conspicuous monument to him stands near the town of Fort William. His Gaelic poems are cultured productions, as might be expected. They all display great love of nature. Those on Summer, Autumn, and Winter show close observation of the effects of the changing seasons. The same familiarity with the varied beauty of the Highland landscape pervades the allegorical composition called "The Mavis of Clan Lachluin," in which the poet assumes the character of that song-bird:—

"The sun is on his flashing march, his golden hair abroad;
It seems as on the mountain-side of beams a furnace glowed.
Now melts the honey from the flowers, and now a dew o'erspreads
(A dew of fragrant blessedness) all the grasses of the meads.
Not least in my remembrance is my country's flowering heather,
Whose russet crest nor cold nor sun nor sweep of gale may wither;
Dear to my eye the symbol wild, that loves like me the side
Of my own Highland mountain that I climb in love and pride."

This extract is a translation from the Gaelic, and, though literal enough, is but a tame copy of the original. With one lilt of M'Lachlan's, translated by himself, we may close our attempts to bring the poetry of our Inverness-shire bards within the comprehension of our Saxon readers. It is called "The Melody of Love," and is a song that is still most popular in the Highlands. It is sung to a lively air and has a spirited chorus:—

"Not the swan on the lake, or the foam on the shore,
Can compare with the charms of the maid I adore;
Not so white is the new milk that flows o'er the pail,
Or the snow that is showered from the boughs of the vale.

As the cloud's yellow wreath on the mountain's high brow,
The locks of my fair one redundantly flow;
Her cheeks have the tint that the roses display
When they glitter with dews on the morning of May.

As the planet of Venus that beams o'er the grove,
Her blue rolling eyes are the symbols of love;
Her pearl-circled bosom diffuses bright rays,
Like the moon when the stars are bedimmed with her blaze.

The mavis and lark when they welcome the dawn
Make a chorus of joy to resound through the lawn;
But the mavis is tuneless, the lark strives in vain,
When my beautiful charmer renews her sweet strain.

When summer bespangles the landscape with flowers,
While the thrush and the cuckoo sing soft from the bowers,
Through the wood-shaded windings with Bella I'll rove,
And feast unrestrained on the smiles of my love."

There are some other Gaelic poets of the past whom we might have mentioned had our space permitted. There are also Inverness-shire poets of the present day who emulate, and not without considerable success, the efforts of their predecessors. It is only a few years since Inverness-shire lost one who in an eminent degree possessed the bardic spirit. This was Mrs Mary Mackellar or Cameron, a native of Fort William. She wrote English poems, some of which are not without considerable merit; but her Gaelic poems are full of spirit, and are likely to be long remembered. Of her and of other minstrels, well known to the northern people, who have well maintained the continuity of Inverness-shire song, we cannot now write.

It has been a difficult task to make a presentation in any comprehensible form of these Inverness-shire poets. In doing so we have supplemented our own knowledge of Gaelic with such translations by competent scholars as were within our reach. While the productions of our county poets may not

excite the admiration of our southern readers, and may even seem to some of them not only rough and primitive, but feeble and commonplace, others will feel that it is remarkable to find among our wild and remote mountains, and often among an uneducated people, so deep and long-continued an expression of fine feeling, chivalry, and love for all that is highest and best as the work of these bards presents to us.

CHAPTER XIX.

INVERNESS-SHIRE OF THE PRESENT DAY—THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF ITS HISTORY—FEW REMNANTS LEFT OF THE OLDEN TIME—THE OLD CASTLES—THE PRESENT CHIEFS—DISAPPEARANCE OF THE MACDONALD FAMILIES OF KEPPOCH, CLANRANALD, AND GLENGARRY—"THE LAST OF THE CHIEFS"—INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PROPRIETORS AND OF DISTRICTS GIVEN UP TO SPORT—TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CHANGE IN INVERNESS AND THE WEALTH POURED INTO IT BY SPORTSMEN—GLENGARRY AND GLENQUOICH—MONEY SPENT IN IMPROVEMENTS—RATES AND TAXES PAID BY SPORTING TENANTS—RAILWAY REACHES INVERNESS-SHIRE—HIGHLAND AND WEST HIGHLAND LINES—LINES PROJECTED—GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF THE TOWNS—INVERNESS NEVER SO WORTHY OF BEING CALLED "THE CAPITAL OF THE HIGHLANDS"—FORT WILLIAM—THE BEN NEVIS OBSERVATORY—KINGUSSIE—A GREAT HEALTH RESORT—FORT AUGUSTUS THE SITE OF A BENEDICTINE MONASTERY—SMALL INCREASE IN MANUFACTURES—THE ALUMINIUM WORKS IN STRATHERRICK—FEARS OF THE BEAUTY OF FOYERS BEING DESTROYED—THE BEAUTY OF INVERNESS-SHIRE ITS GREAT INHERITANCE—THE HEIGHT OF ITS MOUNTAINS AND CHARACTER OF ITS SCENERY—ITS CLIMATE—THE RAINFALL AT SOME OF ITS PRINCIPAL RECORDING STATIONS—ITS GEOLOGICAL FORMATION—THE COUNTY INTERESTING TO THE GEOLOGIST—THE UPLANDS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE—THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE VALLEYS WERE FORMED—THE GREAT GLEN A FRACTURE—THE SCOOPING OUT OF ITS LAKES—THE VAST RESULTS OF GLACIAL ACTION EVERYWHERE APPARENT—ESPECIALLY IN GLEN SPEAN AND GLEN ROY—THE PARALLEL ROADS OF THE LATTER—THE VARIOUS THEORIES REGARDING THEM—THE THEORY OF AGASSIZ DOUBTLESS THE CORRECT ONE.

THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTY IN 1881 AND 1891—CONCLUSION—FLOREAT INVERNESSIA!

WE have now come in our narrative to the Inverness-shire of the present day. Of its condition and prospects it is not necessary that much should here be said. They are well known to every one who has visited our beautiful county.

The history we have endeavoured to bring before our readers naturally falls into four great epochs or divisions. The first was the annexation of the kingdom of Moray to Scotland, the coming of the southern lords, and the subsequent establishment by these strangers of the Norman polity, modified in some measure by the peculiar customs and traditions of the Celtic people among whom it was planted. The second was the cessation of the clan feuds, which had long desolated the country and rendered life and property everywhere unsafe, by the banding of the clans together in a common attachment to the house of Stewart. The third was the change which took place after Culloden. The old feudal system was swept away, hereditary jurisdiction and the arbitrary powers of the chiefs abolished, the people emigrated in vast numbers to other lands, and the county they inhabited was almost entirely devoted to pastoral purposes. The fourth is that under which Inverness-shire now exists. The county has become mainly a place for sport and recreation. Large stretches of it are devoted to deer-forests, and thousands annually visit it attracted by sport or by the beauties of its scenery. This is the outstanding feature of the Inverness-shire of the present day. There are still in some parts of it agricultural and pastoral industry. In the west there are large sheep-farms, and in the east many acres under tillage; but the wealth derived from these sources is small in comparison with that poured into the county by the sportsmen who rent its forests, grouse-moors, and rivers, and the multitude of tourists who in the summer-time crowd its hotels.

There are few features in the Inverness-shire of the present day which link it with the Inverness-shire of the olden time, of which we have had so much to tell in these pages. The old castles of Glenurquhart, Inverlochy, Invergarry, Castle

Tirrim, Castle Downie, and other great strongholds of the feudal time, still stand uninhabited and deserted, telling of the old days when "might was right." But the clansmen who dwelt under their shadow are nearly all gone, and the few who remain have lost in great part the martial spirit of their ancestors. Instead of the old keeps where dwelt the feudal magnates, we have elegant mansions, like those of Achnacarry, Beaufort, Balmacaan, Glengarry, and also many others to which attach no historical interest, and whose owners for the most part bear no historic names. From one end of the county to the other, from the southern border of Badenoch to the rough bounds of Moidart, these mansions are to be met with every few miles, evidence in themselves of the vast change that has come over Inverness-shire.

Most of the old chiefs of whom we have written so much are still represented in their descendants. A Lochiel is still at Achnacarry, a Grant in Glenmoriston and Strathspey, a Fraser at Beaufort, a Chisholm in Strathglass, a Mackintosh at Moy, and a Macpherson at Cluny; and several other families also remain in the county whose ancestors took a conspicuous part in the olden days.

It is a curious circumstance that the only great clan families who have disappeared are those of the Macdonalds. We have no longer a Keppoch in the Braes of Lochaber, a Clanranald in Moidart, or a Glengarry in the glen that bears his name.

The Keppochs, who had little or no legal title to their lands, naturally soon disappeared. When sheep-skins became more powerful than swords as instruments of possession, the descendants of brave "Col of the Cows" became only tenants of their holding, and finally vanished from Lochaber.

The grandson of Clanranald of the '45, it is said through association with the Prince Regent and his foolish and extrav-

agant companions, was brought to absolute ruin. One after another, large parts of the family property were cut off and sent into the market. Of the splendid inheritance, once like a principality, there only remains to the descendants of a long line of chiefs the roofless walls of Castle Tirrim, standing gaunt and bare by the Western Sea.

The family of Glengarry had almost as sad an ending. The fifteenth chief, Alasdair Ranaldson Macdonnell, may be said to have been the last of the old race who was a conspicuous figure in Inverness-shire. It was the aim of his life to carry into modern times the pomp and surroundings of an ancient chief. He always wore the Highland dress, lived as much as possible after the manner of his ancestors, exercised unbounded hospitality, and maintained a household modelled upon that of feudal times. He went about, like his forebears, with a bodyguard, which was called his "tail." He had his piper and his bard. When George IV. visited Scotland, Glengarry came to Edinburgh with the gentlemen of his clan, and was in great prominence during the royal visit. During the time of the Peninsular war he commanded a regiment called the Glengarry Fencibles, who wore the Highland costume and the little cap called the Glengarry bonnet. He had all the impetuousness of the old chiefs of his race, and was sometimes hurried by his fiery temper into acts of a most serious kind. On one occasion he unreasonably quarrelled with an officer at Inverness: a duel was the result, and Glengarry killed his man. He was tried for his life, but escaped through the eloquence of Henry Erskine.

This chief, said to be the prototype of Fergus MacIvor in 'Waverley,' was killed in 1828 in leaping off a steamer which had drifted on some rocks near Fort William. He was succeeded by his son, a boy of ten years old, and the estate came under trust. The trustees found that the liabilities of the late

chief amounted to about £80,000, and resolved to sell the greater portion of the estate. That which was unsold was parted with by the young chief on coming of age. There are 20,000 Macdonalds in Glengarry in Canada, but few in the beautiful glen at home. The once famous family own to-day only their burying-place in the ancient church of St Finnan, and the ruined castle that casts its dark shadow on the waters of Loch Oich.

We had almost said that the chief we have mentioned was the last of the old lords of Inverness-shire, but that would not be altogether correct. There was one who, without the absurdities which distinguished Glengarry, displayed in our own time all the best qualities of an ancient chief. Cluny Macpherson—grandson of the Cluny who was exiled after 1745—will always be remembered by those who had the pleasure of knowing him as the embodiment of all that was best in the old patriarchal chief. He possessed his ancestral estates for the long period of seventy years. He maintained with dignity the name he bore, and inherited all the martial ardour of his ancestors. Of wonderful courtesy and chivalrous feeling, he carried into all his duties a flavour of the olden time. In the Highland dress, surmounted by the bonnet and eagle's feather of the chief, with his fine erect athletic figure, no more graceful specimen of a Highlander could be seen. He died in 1885, "the last of the chiefs," who so long, in very different times from his own, controlled the destinies of Inverness-shire.

The change in the county occasioned by the breaking up of large properties like those of Clanranald, Glengarry, and others, has been very marked. Proprietors are numerous: according to a return made in 1892-93, they number 1867. Districts given up to sport are many. Any one who happens to be at Inverness on the days preceding the 12th of August

will wonder at the army of sportsmen who arrive in detachments from the South, and who from the northern capital branch off to their residences in remote glens, to remain there until the approach of winter calls them to return to the regions whence they came.

As an illustration of the change produced in Invernessshire and the wealth poured into the county by the new condition of things, we may refer to two estates with which all who love the beauty of Highland scenery are familiar—namely, those of Glengarry and Glenquoich. They are typical of many more.

Glenquoich was purchased by the late Right Hon. Edward Ellice from Mr Ranaldson Macdonnell—the last chief of the doughty Macdonnells who possessed the ancestral estates of Glengarry, Glenquoich, and Knoydart—in 1840 at the price of £32,000, while the Glengarry portion was acquired by Mr Ellice from the late Earl of Dudley in 1860 for the sum of £120,000, Lord Dudley having twenty years before purchased Glengarry from the Macdonnell family for £9000.

These estates afford a fair illustration of the enormous harvest which during the past half-century the county of Inverness has reaped from its adaptability to meet the needs of those persons—now a numerous class—of wealth and station who pour into the Highlands every autumn in search of health and recreation.

From evidence regarding these estates which was laid before the Royal Commission of 1892-94 appointed to inquire into the condition of crofters and other smaller tenants, it appeared that during the previous thirty years there had been expended by the proprietors of Glengarry—namely, Mr Ellice above mentioned, his son, the late Edward Ellice, so long the well-known member of Parliament for the St Andrews Burghs, and the widow of the latter, Mrs Ellice, the present

proprietor—no less than £274,749 upon their property, and that by far the greater portion of this expenditure had gone to local tradesmen and labourers for services rendered to the estate.

An even more remarkable instance of the same kind, which we quote from the report we have mentioned, is the outlay upon the adjoining estate of Glenquoich. It is the more striking from being the case of a tenant, having no proprietary interest in the estate, voluntarily expending, out of his love for the place and the pleasure he derives from his residence upon it, a very large sum. It was shown that in twenty years Lord Burton, the tenant referred to, had expended the great amount of £225,272, consisting to a great extent of payments to the resident and local population as wages, and for materials for extensive works. "Not less than a hundred and thirty miles of roads," says the report, "and paths, fifty miles of fences, and many new houses and other buildings, have been constructed, which have afforded well-paid employment to a large number of workpeople, chiefly of the crofter class."

What may be called the sporting interests of Inverness-shire have been instrumental not only in contributing to the prosperity and wealth of the people through the employment and wages they have directly received; it must also be remembered that in a very marked degree they have lessened the pressure of rates and taxes in many parishes, and have thus benefited all classes. While the rents of pastoral farms have gone down greatly, and agriculture generally has been in the Highlands, as elsewhere, depressed for a good many years, the demand for shootings and sporting-places in the Highlands has suffered little or no abatement to the present day. Their annual values or rents have also not appreciably receded. From this it can readily be seen that the great rents often

obtained for shootings must materially increase the rateable basis of taxation, and correspondingly keep down the rates.

Evidence of what we have said has from time to time been brought out by various parliamentary inquiries into Highland affairs. It has been shown that over the whole Highland area 25 per cent of rates and taxes is raised from shooting and fishing rental, while in not a few parishes, including several parishes in Inverness-shire, the proportion reaches 35, 40, and even 50 per cent. What the withdrawal of this burden from parishes with an otherwise impoverished rental would entail on the ratepayers can be easily imagined. The withdrawal or destruction of interests so beneficial would be embittered by the reflection that generally these were interests which might and did exist without detriment to any other concern, and which were in fact almost the only profitable use to which such possessions could be put.

We have probably said enough on this subject, but if any of our readers desire further proof of the invaluable importance to our northern county of its sporting rents, they will find it in abundance in many a blue-book and official document. We would specially mention as of deep interest the reports following the two inquiries of the Royal Commission in 1883-84 and 1892-94 into the condition of the Highlands and Islands. These furnish most instructive reading to all interested in Northern history.

The attractions of the Scottish Highlands, the marvellous natural beauty of their scenery, and the health and vigour derived from a visit to their bens and glens, will doubtless long continue to draw many to the North. Their visits, it is pleasant to think, are being rendered every year easier and less costly by the wisdom of the Government in providing increased postal and telegraphic facilities, and by a remarkable development of railways through private enterprise.

On the 5th November 1855 the "iron horse" first reached Inverness, and that town was connected by railway with Nairn. In 1858 the line was extended to Keith, and direct communication with the South by Aberdeen established. On the 9th September 1861 what is now called the Highland line was opened. The idea of such a line was at first ridiculed on account of the engineering difficulties it presented, but these were successfully overcome, mainly by the ability of Mr Joseph Mitchell, C.E., who gives in his reminiscences a full history of the undertaking. There are few travellers who are not familiar with this route to the Northern Highlands. It passes through the most beautiful mountain scenery in Scotland, and the passenger who leaves London at night is landed early in the forenoon of next day at Inverness.

Another line of railway also reaches our county from the South. Starting from the Firth of Clyde, by the shores of Loch Lomond, through the solitudes of the Black Forest, across the Moor of Rannoch, and by the valley of wild Loch Treig, the West Highland Railway finally debouches into the valley of the Spean, by which it arrives at Fort William. This railway was opened in 1894.

Other railway projects have received the sanction of Parliament. A line is to be made from Fort William to the western border of the county at Mallaig. Another is to run from Fort William to Fort Augustus. Connection between this place and Inverness is likely to be soon effected, and when this is done all parts of our county will be brought into close communication. As it is, crowds of travellers during the summer months come to Inverness-shire either by the railway routes or by the excellent line of steamers which pass through the Caledonian Canal. Our county, once so inaccessible, is now perhaps better known to the southerner and the foreigner than any other district of Scotland.

One result of the opening up of Inverness-shire to the rest of the world has been, as might be expected, the increase and prosperity of its various towns. The burgh, founded by King David I., and to which William the Lion granted privileges, is now one of the most beautiful and flourishing towns in Scotland of its size. It has lost the primitive character which distinguished it through many centuries, when it had to struggle for very existence in the midst of wild and hostile tribes. Its ancient castle and fort have disappeared. Where the former stood rises the imposing and castellated structure which contains the county buildings. Many handsome buildings beautify the town. Among them is specially noticeable the Cathedral of St Andrew, belonging to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, built in 1866, and occupying a commanding position by the waters of the Ness. The town is also distinguished by the many elegant residences by which on every side it is surrounded. Its amenity is remarkable. There are few views in Scotland or anywhere else exceeding in beauty that which is commanded from the upper heights of the town, when the spectator looks down on the wooded islands of the river, the blue waters of the Moray Firth, and sees bounding his view the Ross-shire hills and those of the Beauly valley.

The business and trade of Inverness have been on the increase since the opening of the Caledonian Canal. The tonnage of the port in 1840 was 8000, which has since been more than doubled. In 1831 the population of the town and parish was 14,324; at the last census it was 19,215. It is the centre and emporium of a large and prosperous district, and is more worthy to-day than at any previous time of the name so frequently given to it—the capital of the Highlands.

Fort William, which in Burt's time was a collection of

hovels under the protection of the fort, is now a considerable town of 1870 inhabitants. It is under municipal government, has handsome shops, hotels, churches, and dwelling-houses, and is becoming year by year attractive as a place of residence. The old fort has been swept away, and there is little to remind the visitor of the days when the place was a military stronghold.

On the summit of Ben Nevis, in the neighbourhood, is the famous observatory, visited annually by many thousands. The ascent of the mountain is a great attraction to travellers, and it is easily effected. During the summer and autumn of 1893 a road was made to the top of the hill and the observatory equipped for meteorological observations at a cost of about £4000. Here work is carried on night and day, and the results have been of the greatest importance to meteorological science.

Kingussie, on the banks of the Spey, which, as we have seen, was founded shortly before 1795, has not belied the promise with which at that early time it was regarded. It is a centre of education, and a much frequented place of summer residence. The beauty of the scenery by which it is surrounded, as well as its other attractions, in the way of recreation and amusement, draw hither year after year crowds of strangers, and few who have been there once fail to return again. It is fast becoming one of the great health-resorts of Scotland.

Fort Augustus as a military station has disappeared, and where the fort stood is a magnificent and well-endowed Benedictine abbey. Lord Lovat purchased from the Government the fortress and farm attached to it for the sum of £5000 The old buildings were cleared away and the present monastery erected at a cost of £40,000. It was opened with imposing ceremonial in August 1878. The monastic com-

munity numbers twenty-five, with a staff of professors for the training of the youths who are sent there for their education. The abbey is doubtless a great source of strength to the Roman Catholic community of Inverness-shire, which, as we have seen, is large.

Inverness-shire has not made much progress in manufactures. Two breweries at Inverness, a woollen factory, some meal and flour mills, and various distilleries in different parts of the county, mainly represent this branch of industry. Lately, however, there has been a new departure. The British Aluminium Company have set up works at Foyers for the manufacture of their special product. They employ permanently at this place a hundred hands, and possess 7500 acres of land, with water rights over lochs, rivers, and streams within an area of about 100 square miles, which has cost them upwards of £78,000. What may be the results of this new industry it is impossible to determine. It has been feared that it may lead to the destruction of the famous and beautiful Fall of Foyers, and of the wooded scenery by which it is framed. That it may not do so will be the earnest wish of all who, like the poet Burns, have stood where

> "Among the heathy hills and ragged woods
> The roaring Foyers pours his mossy floods."

The beauty of our county is an inheritance of which it is not likely to be ever deprived. Other districts of Scotland may be richer in mineral and industrial wealth, but none can surpass Inverness-shire in the grandeur and loveliness of its scenery. It is especially the "land of the mountain and the flood." Its mountains present every variety of form. Within its bounds are the highest and grandest of Scottish hills. The Grampians form its southern boundary, rising in Ben Nevis, the highest peak in Great Britain, to a height

of 4406 feet. Other heights are Cairngorm (4090), Ben Alder (3757), Mam Siul (3862), Mealfourvounie (2730). From the borders of Arisaig to those of the Moray Firth one mountain rises behind another like the billowy waves of a tempestuous sea, sometimes clothed with heath, sometimes with forests of pine and fir, sometimes bare and verdureless, but always grand and impressive.

Water everywhere blends with rock to soften the asperity of the landscape. The rivers of the county—the Spey, the Nairn, the Findhorn, the Beauly, the Foyers, the Spean—and the Great Lakes of Lochy and Ness, of Garry, Laggan, Ericht, and many others, vary the wildness of the scenery. Nor must we forget the great arms of the sea by which the west coast of the county is indented, reaching far up among the mountains. Loch Linnhe, Loch Eil, Loch Aylort, and Loch Moidart rival in their beauty and picturesqueness the Norwegian fiords.

The main arteries of travel—the Highland and West Highland Railways, and the Caledonian Canal—have made many familiar with the scenery of Inverness-shire. There is, however, much varied and impressive scenery which these beaten tracks do not touch. The road from Loch Eil to Arisaig, from the Spean along Loch Laggan to Kingussie, from Beauly through Strathglass and the Chisholm's Pass, from Invergarry to Loch Hourn, and from Glenmoriston to Loch Duich, are routes unfamiliar to many, but which for attractiveness are unequalled in Scotland. No county can compare with Inverness-shire for varied beauty. It is not surprising that so many annually visit it, nor is it wonderful that its inhabitants, as it has been truly said, "should be touched with deep romantic feelings at once tender, melancholy, and wild, and that the recollection of their own picturesque native dwellings should haunt them to their latest hours."

The climate of Inverness-shire is in one respect similar to

that of the rest of Scotland. The rainfall on its western side is very great. On the east the heaviest rains are from the German Ocean, but they are less incessant than in the districts adjacent to the Atlantic. It is generally said that the annual number of rainy days at the Inverness end of the Great Glen is about sixty days less than at Fort William, its western extremity.

The following is the mean annual rainfall at some of the principal recording stations in the county: Glen Strathfarrar, 59·04 inches; Fort William, 80·91; Invergarry, 60·70; Glenquoich, 104·62; Glenfinnan, 106·35; Inverie, 79·11; Kinloch Moidart, 64·44. These figures tell of a terribly moist climate. But though the rainfall is great the temperature is mild. Winter is genial, and there is little frost or snow, especially on the west coast. It is a common proverb that "west coast rain doesn't hurt," and it is surprising with what indifference the inhabitants, and visitors who have become acclimatised, regard the frequent downpour.

The geological formation of Inverness-shire is of varied character. The prevailing rocks are gneiss and granite, especially the former, of which the greater part of the county is composed. In the neighbourhood of Inverness and along the southern shore of Loch Ness is a band of red sandstone. Mealfourvounie, on the northern side of the loch from where the band terminates, is one of the most elevated masses of old red sandstone in Scotland.

To the geologist there are two features presented by the county which are of very special interest. In no county of Scotland is shown more clearly the process by which its numerous and deep valleys have been formed, and the result of glacial action in bringing about its present striking configuration.

The tourist who ascends Ben Nevis sees not only the varied character of the country beneath him—mountain rising beyond mountain, far as the eye can reach—he sees also from that elevation what has been truly called the "tableland of the Highlands." As it has been well put by the celebrated geologist Sir Archibald Geikie, "Along the skyline the wide sweep of summits undulates up to a common level, varied here by a higher cone and there by the line of some strath or glen, but yet wonderfully persistent round the whole panorama. If, as sometimes happens, a bank of cloud with a level under-surface should descend upon the mountains, it will be seen to touch summit after summit, the long line of the cloud defining, like a great parallel ruler, the long level line of the ridge below." This long level ridge tells the onlooker what was in far distant ages the general contour of the country—a wide undulating plain, once the bottom of an ancient sea.

Another elevation in Inverness-shire where the mountain tableland can be clearly seen is from the hills to the northward of Dalwhinnie. Here another great view may be had of the sea of mountains between Strathspey and the Great Glen as well as the higher Grampians. The mountains present one unbroken line of upland. No one could imagine that the great undulating plain was broken by many a deep glen and rocky gorge.

This undulating plateau represents the general submarine level. The valleys which break into it have been caused not by eruptive forces, but by the powers of waste. They have been all dug out in the course of ages by water and frost. If it were possible to fill in these valleys with what has been swept out of them by these agencies, the traveller might walk from Dalwhinnie to Ben Nevis along a surface almost as level as a table and unbroken in its flatness. This is an interesting feature of the geological structure

of the county, but there is perhaps one even more striking. The results of glacial action are everywhere apparent. Everywhere the rocks are striated, scratched, and grooved by the great mass of ice as it moved along the surface of the land. Everywhere also may be seen large boulders of stone that have been lifted by ice-power from their original site and deposited where they lie by the glacial mass as it glided seawards.

The great lakes have been dug out by the same agency. The Caledonian Glen which divides the county is probably the result of an ancient fracture in the crust of the earth. Loch Ness is still agitated during earthquakes, showing that yet underground movements tend to reveal themselves along the old line of disturbance. After the fracture had been made it became subjected to a continual process of denudation, and to account for the great depths of its two principal lakes we have to go back to the Ice Age. "In old times," it has been clearly shown, "a larger amount of ice probably flowed into the Great Glen than into any other valley in Scotland. From the west came the great glaciers of Loch Eil, Loch Arkaig, Glenmoriston, and Glenurquhart; from the east those of the glens of Lochaber, and those which descended from the north-western flanks of the Monadhliadh Mountains. The sides of the valley show everywhere the flowing rounded outlines that mark the seaward march of the ice; and its rocky bottom, where visible, bears the same impress. That it has been ice-worn is thus rendered plain. The lake basins of the Great Glen have been scooped out by ice."

But the most striking instance probably of glacial action in Scotland is presented to us in the valley of the Spean, and by the celebrated parallel roads of Glen Roy. In the former valley the glacier which came down from the glen of Loch

Treig has left many traces. It appears to have gone right across Glen Spean and ascended the hills opposite the side whence it came. Agassiz, who visited Inverness-shire in 1840, describes the profound impression made upon him as he stood in Glen Spean. "I shall never forget," he says, "the impression experienced at the sight of the terraced mounds of blocks which occur at the mouth of the valley of Loch Treig where it joins Glen Spean: it seemed to me as if I were looking at the numerous moraines of the neighbourhood of Tines in the valley of Chamounix." Nowhere, indeed, can the result of glacial action be studied better than along the banks of the Spean. It is seen everywhere. How vast it must have been, if there be truth in the estimate of Jamieson that "the ice in Glen Spean must have been two miles broad at the surface, and at least 1300 feet deep"!

The parallel roads of Glen Roy have long formed one of the remarkable sights of the county, and are visited annually by many travellers. It is almost unnecessary to describe them. On the opposite sides of the glen, and at exactly the same levels, are three well-defined terraces, as marked as the terraces of a country mansion. They extend for several miles, and are easily recognisable at a great distance. The lowest terrace is 862 feet above sea-level, the second is 1077 feet, and the third is 1155 feet. The height of the terrace on one side of the glen is exactly the same as that opposite it on the other. The terraces are each from 60 to 70 feet broad.

These "roads" were in ancient times supposed to have been made by human hands. At one time they were believed to be the hunting roads of the Fingalian heroes, at another those of the ancient Scottish kings. Along them deer were driven by crowds of men and killed by the hunters with bow or broadsword. The legendary origin of these

wonderful formations has long ago vanished before scientific inquiry, though it is only in comparatively recent times a satisfactory solution of the phenomena has been reached. The greatest geologists of the century tried to solve the problem. Darwin, Agassiz, Nichol, and Milne Home have all propounded their theories. A literature of its own belongs to this remote glen, down which Montrose made his celebrated march to Inverlochy. All the theories put forward suggest water in some form as the cause, for no other agent could have produced the exact parallelism—not only on one side but on both sides of the valley. Darwin held the theory, and in this he was supported by Nichol, that the terraces were old sea-beaches. It was supposed that an arm of the sea, like one of the western lochs, at a remote period penetrated far inland. These beaches of different levels were formed as the sea receded from the land. This explanation was not deemed, however, satisfactory. Were it true, the levels in the neighbouring valleys—in Glen Spean and in Glen Gloy—would be the same as those in Glen Roy, but they are not.

Another theory was put forward by Mr Milne Home, an accomplished Scottish geologist, who devoted much labour to the subject. Briefly, his conclusion was that the roads were the successive margins of fresh-water lakes supported on gravel. Many existing lakes, it was pointed out, are formed in this manner, and the result here was the same as had occurred elsewhere. The difficulty in the way of accepting this theory was that of explaining how the enormous natural dams, the lowest of them 862 feet above the sea, could have been swept away from their contiguous valleys.

The theory of Agassiz is that which is now generally accepted. He goes back to the Ice Age, when every valley

had its glacier. The roads were, according to him, the margins of fresh-water lakes supported on ice. As the temperature in the latitude of Scotland rose, the ice barriers were gradually reduced to a lower level. The existence of the three parallel beaches shows that the process of melting was arrested at different periods, during which the three successive beaches were formed; and as the difference between the third and second beach is only 78 feet, while that between the second and the lowest is 215 feet, the natural inference is that the thawing proceeded nearly three times as rapidly during the latter period as during the earlier. "The parallel roads of Glen Roy," to quote the words of Agassiz, "are intimately connected with the occurrence of glaciers, and have been caused by a glacier from Ben Nevis. The phenomenon must have been precisely analogous to the glacier lakes of the Tyrol and to the event that took place in the valley of the Bagne."

The views of Agassiz have been generally adopted by scientific men. His theory was accepted by Jamieson in 1863, and by the late General Sir Henry James, who wrote an interesting paper on the phenomenon in 1894, which is now regarded as the standard opinion on the subject. Sir Henry has pointed out that the Margilensee in Switzerland was an existing example of a fresh-water lake supported on a glacier in precisely the same way as were the old lakes in the glens of Lochaber, according to the theory which he supports. The roads, therefore, long supposed to have been artificially formed, are shown beyond all doubt to have been the result of natural forces—"the shores, as it were, of a phantom lake that came into being with the growth of the glaciers, and vanished as these melted away."

Perhaps what we have said is sufficient to show that our county presents a fine field for geological research, and brings

before the observant mind in a vivid and striking manner the story of ages reaching far back into the past.

The population of Inverness-shire has, on the whole, been decreasing, as the census shows. In 1881 it was 90,454; in 1891, 89,317. That of the islands in 1881 was 35,523; in 1891, 34,307; of the mainland in 1881, 54,931; in 1891, 55,010.

With these statistics we close our story, with the expression of a hope that a county with so striking a history and so admirable a people may yet have a great future before it; and may go on year by year increasing in all those elements that constitute its prosperity. *Floreat Invernessia!*

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